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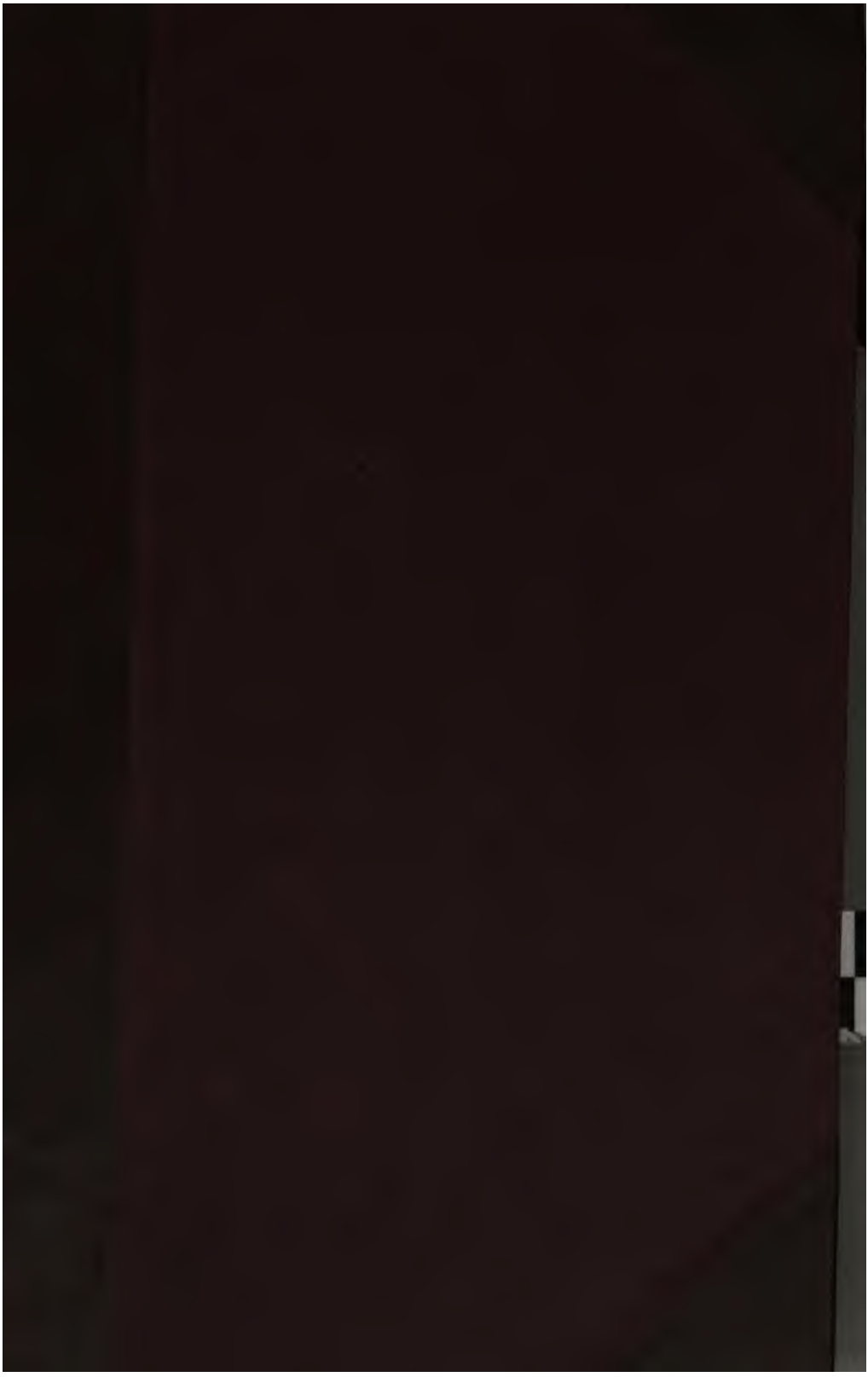

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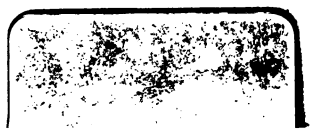

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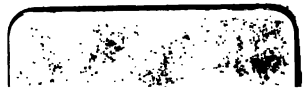

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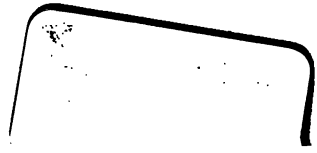

THE

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AMBASSADOR

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AND

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THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR

ART. I.—DR. CHALMERS.

MR. S. CLEMENS (Mark Twain), who is sometimes as wise and suggestive, as he is witty and humourous, writes as follows:—"I desire to say to the societies in London, and other chief cities of Great Britain, under whose auspices I have partly promised to lecture, that I am called home by a cable telegram. I shall spend with my family the greatest part of next year here, and may be able to lecture a month during the autumn upon such scientific topics *as I know least about, and may consequently feel least trammelled in dilating upon.*" The italicising is our own; firstly, because the sarcasm is of extensive applicability; and, secondly, because the "cap" does not fit ourselves on the present occasion. Books are, no doubt, a great and legitimate help to a man, as well as is that sort of omniscient fancy hinted at by Mr. Clemens, which is sufficient for all things; but, at the same time, eyes, ears, and one's own actual mental experience, is a greater help than either the books or the fancy; and, on the knowledge obtained by means of these we shall almost exclusively rely in writing this article. Fact and sentiment, both, we shall draw *de nos propres fonds.* Mr. Dickens, in his *Notes on Italy*, has described Rome as if it had been a city without a history; in like manner shall we, on the strength of our personal knowledge, describe the man who is the subject of the following observations; regarding him from our own stand-point alone, irrespective of the opinions of others, except as they may serve to illustrate or confirm those which we ourselves have to offer. Having seen and heard, therefore shall we speak; and what we know is that whereof we shall affirm.

We feel ourselves happy in being able to state that we had a pretty good personal knowledge of Dr. Chalmers, having been favoured with the privilege of attending a course of his *viva*

voce lectures at the University of Edinburgh; of which University he was at that time both Principal and Regius Professor of Divinity. The session of our attendance was the one immediately preceding the memorable disruption, and therefore the last of the doctor's services in that ancient and celebrated seat of learning; this same disruption meaning, as some people might put it, the abandonment, by the working bees, headed by their king, of the old hive of the Scottish Established Church, to form a new one of their own. Thereafter the doctor's academic services were transferred to the Free Church (for that is the name rightly chosen of the new hive), of which he may be said to have been the Founder and Coryphæus; and the peculiar machinery of which, still working well, is so noble a monument to his name, and so worthy a memorial of his ecclesiastical statesmanship. On many occasions afterwards, and up to the time of his death, we had the opportunity—of which it is needless to say we always availed ourselves—of seeing his noble presence, and of listening to the outpourings of his wisdom, at once so finely philosophical and so marvellously eloquent.

The memory of this great man is sweet to our taste, and elevating to our soul. Our thoughts leap up at the mention of his name. Like all great things—like nature itself—he retains his freshness, and gives out the same aroma as he did of yore. Still bright his colours shine; and, "as a rainbow in the sky," they seem to us still to span the whole heavens of thought. The nineteenth century is *not* greater than Thomas Chalmers. In a better sense than Ezekiel's words originally implied, he is still unto us "as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument." As the signet-mark of a great king, he is stamped upon our memory with a distinctive sacredness and a depth of impression which will last to the end. It was his force of character alone—the simple grandeur of his nature—which thus bound him to our admiration and reverence; for there was no personal friendship between us; and we never had but one personal interview with him, which simply related to the business of our college studies.

We shall "speak right on," taking the thoughts as they rise without regard to arrangement or method. In the same order that our "unconscious cerebration" has got the ideas and memories deposited, must the conscious take them up and exhibit them. On such a theme it would be impossible to "stick;" from such a text as Chalmers the poorest sermon could not be otherwise than interesting. We shall just shake the kaleidescope of memory, and take the views that present themselves, giving a sort of mosaic representation of our subject; or, rather, the outlines of a picture to be afterwards filled up. First thoughts, presented as

they rise, are not unfrequently the best, being the most natural, and the least affected by the twistings and twinings of what may be called rhetorical method and literary art. If we can do no more in this short paper than make the great idea of the man, considered simply as a preacher, "loom through a mist," we shall not labour in vain, or spend our strength for naught. Afterwards, as just hinted, we may follow up this mere running sketch with a more orderly and comprehensive article, in which we may consider our subject in somewhat the following manner, namely: as to where he was, who he was, what he was; and, as to what he did, how he did it, and how his works and influence last. Meanwhile, then, we wish to present, in our own way, a simple, direct, and brief statement of our own personal impressions of the great Scotch theologue and philosopher considered principally as a preacher.

One knows not, however, very well how to begin, much less how to fill up, a short monogram of such a man as THOMAS CHALMERS. "Small Books on Great Subjects," is not only a plausible idea, but has become a great practical fact, which contrasts strangely with the wire-drawn logic and ponderous tomes of our forefathers. He that runneth may now read a book as he goes, and get in some sort to the end of the subject, by the time he has got to the end of his journey. Such is the power and utility of steam when it is "up;" and up it assuredly is, alike in the material appliances and the mental energies of this unique and all-compelling age. But, a small article on Chalmers! That does indeed sound strange; and seems the most like "meting the ocean with a span" of anything we can at this moment think of. A consummation, in the form of a small article, on such a theme, however devoutly to be wished, presents difficulties which, it must be confessed, we ourselves, though in a manner committed to the task, do not seem to possess the requisite power to surmount; not, at least, in the way that appears desirable. We feel, in a very strong manner, an instinctive shrinking-back in the precincts of so mighty a presence, and an invincible backwardness to rush in where angels themselves, on every view of the subject, might almost fear to tread. And that we are sincere in this self-depreciation is apparent from the fact that we have more than once pleaded to be excused from writing the article, on the score of our nervousness and felt incompetency. But a hard master* replied that, "having sympathy," "personal recollections," with certain other things not worth mentioning here, we should do very well, and must proceed. So, having continued in fear unto this day, and put off to the last moment, we forthwith humbly attempt to give an imperfect sketch of, we must say, by far the greatest man we have ever known. We feel, probably, somewhat as Daniel did in the presence of Gabriel, when he fell down

* The Editor of the Ambassador.

as dead before the majesty that confronted him. Nor would you say that we exaggerate, had you *known* Chalmers. It is no trivial affair, as must readily be acknowledged, to look a great soul in the face, especially when you are intending to portray its lineaments; for then it is you more than ever see the divinity that therein stirs, and so feel yourself much more disposed to fall down and worship, than to stand up and describe.

No doubt it takes an Apelles to paint an Alexander; yet still a meaner pencil may give a *likeness*. And, while it is true that eagles do not catch flies, yet it is at the same time quite as true that there is no reason why flies may not admire eagles, and even hum that admiration, if such a thing might be. It might, rightly enough, be esteemed a matter of small moment that Chalmers should have been the greatest man *we* ever knew; but when a magnate of the position and prestige of Isaac Taylor, says that Chalmers was the greatest man *he* ever knew, it is not a small matter at all, but a dictum worthy of all consideration. Dr. William Lindsay Alexander, too, we believe, has somewhere expressed himself much to the same effect. The fact is, Chalmers was a *round* man. There are plenty of men possessed of that kind of greatness which may be called angular, or, if you prefer it, segmental. But here was one great all over,—"a star full-orbed;" whose "burning" and "shining," moreover, were equal the one to the other. So that the most "grave and reverend seigniors" themselves were wont to look with astonishment on so rare a specimen of human greatness and worth. It was not so much in any particular faculty that Chalmers excelled, as from the extraordinary *combination* of faculties constituting his personality, and so making him the uniquely or exceptionally great power which he was everywhere felt to be. The chief difficulty that weighs upon this our attempt to delineate his character lies in what the French call an *embarrass de richesses;* the salient points that present themselves to our view being so numerous. His personality and his history were both alike made up of salient points. Nay, he himself was a salient point, rising "like Teneriffe or Atlas" into the moral horizon, and fixing the delighted gaze of his countrymen and of the world at large.

For our own part, we greatly believe in hero-worship. That is to say, there are a few men who rise so far above the ordinary level of our humanity, and exhibit such marvellous powers of intellect, of soul, and of work, as literally to compel the highest exercise of our veneration and love towards them. This class of men leave their footmarks, not only on the sands of time, but on the very rocks of time. To look up to such men, and to "worship" them, we hold to be at once natural, and elevating, and praise-*worthy*. Whereas, not to look up to such personages would bespeak

us to be, not only no "heroes" ourselves, but, strictly speaking, no men. If we are not to look up to such men, what, of a finite nature, *are* we to look up to? If the "image of God," and that, too, in its highest earthly development, is not to command our veneration, what, we should like to know, *is?* And, why have we the faculty of veneration? Are we not divinely enjoined to "esteem highly" them that are set over us "in the Lord?" And, surely, a great man is as much set over us by the Lord as a little priest! It may also be remarked that those who cannot perceive greatness when they see it, must be of a low mental type indeed; and, that those who perceiving greatness, yet do not feel moved towards it by the drawings of moral magnetism, must needs be of a still lower type, because defective in a higher part of their nature, to wit, a moral one. Let it be remembered, too, in this connection, that it was *Judas* who did not venerate Christ. No wonder that he esteemed *himself* so little as to go out and hang himself! Now, all non-hero-worshippers we hold to have, less or more, some touch of the Judas-nature in them. And is it not lamentable to see how much at the present day the worship due to the "hero" is transferred to the "bag?" Never, we should say, at any former period, was Byron's line more conspicuously and more universally illustrated than at the present time; viz., that

"Mammon wins his way where seraphs might despair."

Goethe, in his Wilhelm Meister, speaks of there being three reverences: reverence for that which is above us; reverence for that which is around us; and reverence for that which is beneath us. Of the two first, our materialistic and utilitarian age knows next to nothing; but of the last it knows a great deal indeed,—thereby showing itself to be, *par excellence*, of the earth, earthy. In spite of being thought too liberal, we would venture to say that, with certain drawbacks, there is no reading going, at present, of a more salutary and inspiring sort than is to be found in such books as Carlyle's Hero-Worship and Emerson's Representative Men. What kind of books, keeping off sacred ones, are more calculated than suchlike, to lift the mind above turnips and tumbrils with other clods of the valley, up to man, and *so*, beyond him? We take the liberty of here suggesting that either or both of the two works just named, would be greatly improved by the addition of two new chapters,—the one to be entitled "Luther, or the Reformer;" and the other, "Chalmers, or the Preacher." No doubt, in Carlyle's book, Luther is spoken of in a very noble manner; yet, still, not so comprehensively as might be, and as is at present desirable. Instead of expending his energies on Frederic the Great, had this prince of historico-biograhical writers given us a Life of Luther,—the *Greater*,—"'twould have been something," as uncle Toby, on another matter, remarks. By the way, we may here observe

that these two sons of thunder, Luther and Chalmers, bore a striking resemblance to each other, not only in face and physique, but as well, in some leading features of general character. In each alike we observe the same large brain, the same massive jaw, the same compressed lips, and the same solemn eyes,—not rolling in a "fine frenzy," but in thoughts of the infinite and eternal. In both we meet with the same high *morale*, the same largeness of soul, the same spirituality of mind, the same firmness of purpose, and the same tremendous force of character. To burn popes' bulls, and courageously to face a world in arms against them, were matters of course to men like these! "Devils at Worms!" What of that? The universe is more than they; God is above devils; and these men lived in more worlds than one, *and* in God! We know not of any two in the whole noble army of Christian champions who might with greater appropriateness be designated the Castor and Pollux of Evangelical Christianity, than Martin Luther and Thomas Chalmers.

St. Augustine used to say, that, if he could have had three things by merely wishing for them, they would have been the following:—To have seen Jesus Christ in the flesh, St. Paul in the pulpit, and Rome in the days of her greatest glory. As regards ourselves; if we could get three things out of this same Fortunatus' Cap, one of them we think would be to have lived on terms of intimate personal friendship with Thomas Chalmers; whilst the other two, perhaps, would be to have lived on the same terms with John Milton on the one hand, and with John Locke on the other. All of them circular men, round as the world and bright as the morning star. Of course, we exclude from the circle of our wishing in this case, the Moseses, the Elijahs, the Isaiahs, the Daniels, and the Pauls, of a remoter age, and of a higher inspiration.

Some men are greater than their books, whilst others are less. A Hercules, it is true, may always be know to be a giant from his footmarks; but still the footmarks do not bear witness to the *degree* of giganticness. Now, unquestionably the books of Chalmers are great, and some of them very great; but the books are, none of them, by any means equal to the man. There is a greatness of soul and character which cannot be translated into words, or transferred to books. A gorgeous landscape may photograph itself on a prepared surface; or, the poet may sing its praises. But neither photography nor poetry gives the landscape *itself*. Half of the glory remains untold. And if you want to know the landscape as it *is*, you must do as the Queen of Sheba did with respect to the glory of Solomon,—go and *see* it. So, as regards Chalmers. We hesitate not to say, that those who never saw and heard him can have no adequate idea whatever of the

marvellousness of that manhood and individuality which permeated the whole warp and woof of his nature, and both astonished and delighted all who *did* see and hear him.

"The mountains," says Byron, "are a feeling." But that "feeling" must come into us by means of our personal senses. Chalmers, too, was a "feeling,"—a very marked and intense one. The "psychic force," or, "something not to be defined," pervading his personal atmosphere, made you feel, as well as see, that you were in a great presence. On public occasions this said psychic force, or mental magnetism, almost seemed potent enough, of mystic virtue enough, to have made the very stones cry out, and the beams in the timber to answer them; as was somewhat the case, we are told, under the eloquence of Orpheus, no less than under other forthputtings of a strange power, in the grand old days of yore, when

> "The heavens were nigher to us,
> And the gods were more familiar."

In Gilfillan's "Remoter Stars of the Church Firmament" there are some curious characterisations of great men under material or fanciful imagery. Chalmers, there, luckily falls in for a pretty large crumb from that rich man's table; though some of the others get little else than kicks. The beneficent morsel is this:—"Chalmers, a Fife fishwife gone inspired; strong, coarse common sense, possessed, and become Pythonic." Grotesque, but true,—Chalmers, in pulpit, platform, or desk, was as one inspired, possessed, pythonic. And, the influence was communicated, the excitement was contagious; the "wind of prophecy" seemed to "wrap" *you*, as well as the prophet himself; and you felt as you never felt elsewhere. But the afflatus was *divine*. The river was swollen, but there was not more foam than depth. The torrent swept over all before it, but enriched as it ran, and left fertility in its wake. There was passion, but not more passion than power! There was—what was there not?—there was, in fact, *Chalmers!*

We can imagine some persons to express themselves in this wise:—"Our idea of Chalmers is derived from his 'Astronomical Discourses' and his 'Natural Theology,' for example. And we cannot conceive how our impression of his immense capacity and power as therein set forth, could be much deepened by any seeing and hearing of him. Sense does not take hold of soul." Perhaps not; but be that as it may, soul *does* take hold of sense. And, the "Astronomical Discourses" notwithstanding, we still hold to our position that seeing is believing; that those "thoughts that breathed and words that burned,"—the breathing thought kindling the burning word,—should have been witnessed while in the act of leaping forth from the living lips.

We have read of Vesuvius, and conned over pictured representations of its beauties and sublimities; but we have never seen and heard that celebrated mountain on fire. We have perused eloquent descriptions of its "starry pointing pyramid" when wrapped in flame, and have stood in fancy amid the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum; but we never actually witnessed the terrific grandeur of that play of "earthquake and eclipse" which Pliny describes, and twenty centuries have remembered. No; we never saw and heard Vesuvius on fire; but we have witnessed a grander sight than even that. We have seen and heard Chalmers on fire! And, speaking advisedly,—speaking without the least feeling of exaggeration, or the shadow of a desire to give a sensational impression; dipping our pen in no artifical *couleur de rose*, but in the common ink of pre-Raphaelite realism,—we can, in simple deed and truth, declare that we never witnessed anything like it; that it was the grandest phenomenon we ever saw; the most pleasurable experience we remember ever to have had! And, had we but a phonographic power of pen equal to the photographic power of the sun, we would make our readers realizers with ourselves of the like precious faith in Chalmers which his contemporaries were so proud to confess. The "Astronomical Discourses,"—of which more anon when we come to the more critical part of our paper,—majestic and masterly as they undoubtedly are, and giving of course as they do, a good idea of their author, are in truth no more than a dim reflection of the reality. "All the dread magnificence of heaven," as mirrored in lake or sea, sublime as that may be, is yet but a shadow of Mazzaroth at home, and the goings forth of Arcturas and his sons amid the spaces of immensity. And Chalmers, we repeat, must have been personally observed to be known in *all* the dread magnificence of his powers; in the marvellous "diapason full" of his oratorical power; in the full-length reality of his general intellectual and moral forces.

The sentiment of Byron is not only poetically fine, but philosophically true. The mountains are a "*feeling*," and they are a feeling because their presence implies more than meets the eye; there being in that presence an unnameable something forthshadowing the infinite itself—a "something far more deeply interfused" than the senses can realize, and of which the soul, in virtue of its nature and intuitional insight, feels the living presence. Great things are a feeling, because they are great; and the greatest things are a feeling *only*, because they involve that which the soul alone can perceptively know, and which, from its hidden essence, is both verbally inexpressible and logically unthinkable. The poet of the "Seasons" hits this sentiment in a brief yet beautiful emphasis. Having drawn from the four quarters of the year

all their lessons, and in return adorned them with all the flowers of a philosophic poetry, as profusely almost as nature herself clothes them with their several productions,—having thought the thinkable and spoken the speakable, he yet perceives that there is a residuum, no less than infinite, left, which he can neither speak nor think. Hence his grandly spoken and grandly suggestive line,—

"Come, then, expressive silence, *muse* HIS praise."

Chalmers was a "feeling." And, standing in the presence of that Himalaya among men, zoned with all the talents, and listening to his words on fire with spirit and with truth, it was as a new sensation, a wonderful and unique experience never to be forgotten. Almost as vivid as reality that "mountain man" stands out at this moment to our mind's eye, while his mighty utterances seem to linger all along the heights and depths of us as the echoes of a cathedral organ, or of an orchestral music where Handel himself led the way. When the mountain speaks in the syllables of storm, and wraps its brows with the lightnings of heaven; when "the live thunder leaps from peak to peak," and sleeping earthquake hears, that *is* eloquence. And when a mountain man is battling for truth and right with all the roused elements of his power against "foemen worthy of his steel," or is grappling with some great subject, that he may evolve its beautiful, its good, and its true, till the thews and sinews of his mind seem to crack, as Sampson's bodily ones may have done while bearing away the gates of Gaza, or tugging at the pillars of the Philistine's temple,—that, too, is eloquence,—that, too, is a feeling,—that, too, is a memory one does not willingly let die. And we have seen Chalmers exercised *so*; in the pulpit, on the platform, at the professorial desk, and where "Greek meets Greek," in the "solemn conclave" of the General Assembly. We well remember what our thoughts were on the first occasion of our hearing him, and after we had used a little to run our poor line along the vast circumference of him, by way of measuring his powers. Among other things we thought:—What need of a Columbus to cross Atlantic billows in search of a new world? It is nigh thee, even in thine eyes, and in thine ears; it is here, here in this "mountain man," Thomas Chalmers. So novel, so unprecedented, so grand, so "floating many a rood," so astounding, and so unrivalled, in our experience, did the greatness of that great man appear unto us. And, on those first impressions—as it is with first impressions in general—time as yet has "written no wrinkle," and ill-natured criticism produced no effect.

To us, as a whole—and it is as a whole he must ever be viewed—Chalmers appears to us to have been a *sui generis*—a *rara avis in terris*—as the phrase is—occurring only at long intervals of time.

There was indeed "a glory in the earth" of Scotland, not to say of the world, whilst Chalmers was in it. But, when he had disappeared from the place that knew him, how Scotchmen might have said, and how Scotchmen did say,—said, despite the attractions of "modern thought," and the many splendours of the nineteenth century—

"But yet I know, where'er I go,
That there hath passed away a glory from the earth."

Thus, a little too lengthily perhaps,—but it is enchanted ground ---have we struck the key-note of our opinion of this epochal man; and that note is *not* too high. Cowper says truly,

"There is in souls a sympathy with sounds;
And as the mind is pitched the ear is pleased."

Nor is there less in souls a sympathy with mental and moral greatness. If the mind was pitched high enough, the pleasure it derived from this grandly great and grandly good Scottish man, preacher, philosopher, and divine, was something too large to be measured and too marvellous to be explained. But, whether the mind was adequately pitched or not, there was that in Chalmers, mechanically to rivet the attention and enlist the sympathies. Hence it was that literate and illiterate alike went after him, wondering as they went; and, wondering not less, perhaps, why they so wondered, the power exerted upon them being an "open secret" which was not a little puzzling. "And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew" how it was that he made them feel as he did.

At his own Territorial Church in the West Port, built for the behoof of the poor, it was felt to be an unspeakable treat when the doctor himself by chance stepped in, and gave an address. Upwards of sixty, then, yet the fine gold had not become dim, nor the old fire less ready to break forth in torrents of eloquence and power. To the very last it was the same. Richard had never to become himself *again*. Chalmers was always Chalmers, and Chalmers was always great, always interesting, and always full of *that*, whatever it might be, which fixed the eye and stirred the soul, as Chalmers alone could do. We have been told by one who used occasionally to hear him in this church for the poor, that it was perfectly astonishing to see how "the old man eloquent" got at the souls of the people, there sparsely, perhaps, assembled, not, of course, having expected any "angel visit" on the occasion. With the old men and women, with the young men and maidens, nay, with the very children themselves, it was "all eye, all ear, all intellect, all sense," whilst the speaker held forth a few plain Gospel truths, arrayed, of course, in the colours of his own grand imagination, and alive with the fire of his own heart. The "unction" that was in himself, he poured upon those who heard him. On those occa-

sions our informant told us the doctor used to put things very simply, yet at the same time very grandly. When the thunder speaks, it always lightens, too. He did not look down upon the poor. Not he. He was too great and too good for that. He did not preach down to the poor. Not he. He felt his *own* wormhood too strongly for that. Rather he preached up to the image of God in them; and, pervaded by the sentiment of humanity, he felt himself one with them; nay, stirred by the "enthusiasm of humanity," he rejoiced that to the poor the Gospel is preached, and felt it a personal honour to be himself their preacher.

We may here observe that it was not, perhaps, so much the way in which he put things, as the way in which he *felt* them, that enabled him to pour forth so mighty an influence over his audience. Simple as a child, yet rapt as a seraph, he could keep a few "auld wives" rivetted to the spot, as with the spell of a magician, for just as long as he had a mind to address them. "Stooping to touch the loftiest thought," he could yet lift the lowliest of his hearers to touch it too. Always great, we say, because always Chalmers. And not great, need we say? as some men count greatness, because difficult to be understood; but great for one reason, among others, because he was easy to be understood. "When I am weak, then am I strong," is one of the pregnant sayings of Paul; and, applying the principle to their "dear old Doctor" the Territorial Church people of the West Port might with great truth have said the same of him. Neither in church of the poor and unlettered, nor in church of the rich and cultured, was there aught about Chalmers of German mistiness, of rationalistic tendency, or of metaphysical abstrusity, of crotchety dogmaticalness, of rhetorical bathos, of transcendental speculation, or of greatness in words with littleness in ideas. Dogmatical he no doubt was, as every great and honest man necessarily is. But from the narrowness of the bigot and the exclusiveness of the zealot he was entirely free. The "idols" of which Bacon speaks, and which, one and all, really mean "shop," had about as little to do with Chalmers as with anyone we ever knew. Some may think otherwise; some have thought and written otherwise; but we hold to our position, and would point such as feel disposed to contravene it to the Doctor's large-minded and large-hearted article on Morell's History of Speculative Philosophy, in one of the early numbers of the *North British Review*.

Chalmers was always himself, *pur et simple*. Men of his class have no need to be affected, if they could. Giants don't strut. Who would "paint the lily, or gild refined gold"? Chalmers was always a power. Wherever he went there was a glory; whatever he touched glowed in response to his magic hand; and

whomsoever he came into contact with felt his moral grandeur, and acknowledged his intellectual force. It may be said of him, as it was said of Edmund Burke, that he could not have accidentally joined any one under a tree for ten minutes on a rainy day, without leaving behind him a vivid impression of his reach of mind, and the majesty of his moral character. He was always master of the situation, and always conferred dignity upon it. Whether in the low places of Edinburgh, or in the high places of London, the people fell, as it were, at his feet; for they felt the virtue that went out of him. Saxon blood, and "Norman blood," alike, leaped in its veins at his mighty utterances. A Cedric the Thrall would have forgot his chain, and a William the Conqueror his crown, in the presence of a Chalmers, who needed to be seen only to be felt, and heard only to be remembered for evermore. Not the "blue bonnets" of Scotland alone, but the coronets of England too, were doffed in the presence of the massy-headed and broad-faced Scotchman "gone inspired." Sandie at home, and Sandie abroad (or, as it used to be said, "gone south to get his dinner, just as the Englishman goes north to find brains,") were alike prone to do him reverence, and prouder to speak of his powers, than of his nationality. And, when Sandie forgets the *Scotch*man in the man (which may happen, perhaps, once in a century), the circumstance is to be noted as assuredly indicative of the superlatively extraordinary.*

When hearing Chalmers preach the critic dropped his pen, the cynic his "gall of bitterness," the grandee his eyebrows, the fine lady her gloves, the exquisite his eye-glass, the pharisee his self-righteousness, the sinner his despair; and, if a pin chanced to drop, you could hear it fall. You could not hear this great preacher and remember either yourself or anything else. He was the cynosure of all thoughts no less than all eyes. Like King David in Israel, he bowed the hearts not merely of his audiences, but of all Scotland, "as the heart of one man," and was, in the eyes of the people, "as an angel of God.". No single individual, since that lion-like man, John Knox, has ever had the moral influence in Scotland that Chalmers exerted from first to last. Yet the former was far from possessing the round or universal greatness of the latter. Sylla's dictum that there were many Caius Mariuses in Julius Cæsar is, in some considerable respects, applicable to Chalmers as compared with his great predecessor. A wonderful thing personal influence, especially when exerted on a large scale. We are told by scientific botanists that flowers giving out perfume, exercise a healthful influence on the atmosphere of a room; that delightful effluvium converting the oxygen

* It is pretty evident the writer of this article is not a Scotchman.—*Editor.*

into ozone, and by this means strengthening its oxidizing virtue. And something analogous to this would appear to have taken place when Chalmers was preaching, or otherwise personally casting abroad his power. The technically unnameable spiritual force given out, seemed to modify the entire moral atmosphere of the place, putting elevation into every mind, emotion into every heart, and fire into every eye; the scoffer remained to pray, and the believer to wonder and adore. The scene was as when a mighty rushing wind sways the golden grain, and all the trees of the wood do clap their hands. On one occasion, when all the *élite* of London had rushed in an impetuous stream to hear him, Canning, turning to Brougham, exclaimed, in astonishment at the oratorical effect produced, "The Tartan beats us all!"

The remark which Dr. Robert Newton made concerning the Rev. George Steward, namely, that if all the world could have heard him the world had needed no other preacher, was certainly no less applicable to Dr. Chalmers. When Robert Hall said of Chalmers' preaching that there was motion but no progress, it might have been replied that the same thing is true even of the sun itself, at least as regards the planetary system. Chalmers, at any rate, turned on his axis, and thereby evolved light enough to clothe a host of lesser orbs in their little lines of "progress." The moon makes a progress, as Robert Hall himself might do; but, let it be remembered in favour of the sun, that its mere *body* would, if we mistake not, more than twice fill the whole *orbit* of the moon! But, as comparisons are invidious—on account, we suppose, of difference of opinion—we will pass on, leaving the great Baptist—whom John Foster's grand critique has made still greater—with the remark that, although his criticism had truth in it, yet it had none that really detracted from the merits of Chalmers as a preacher, but rather the contrary. The "motion" was rotatory, it is true; but then and thereby you got presented to you *many* phases of a subject. And certainly we had better have a single great principle or truth turned round and round to us in a sermon, so that we might be enabled to see all the sides of it, than have a whole host of things passed in such Dædalian dance before our eyes, as to render our condition little better than his whose confused optics compelled him to say, that he only saw "men as trees walking."

If any one should think our few rapid and unmethodical observations too eulogistic of their subject to be true, all that we can say in reply is, that they *are* true, nevertheless. As a tree is known by its fruit, so a preacher is known by the effect he produces. And never since the days of Peter the Hermit's fanatical eloquence was a greater moral effect produced (greater as to intensity) than by the eloquence, at once practical and philosophic, of

Thomas Chalmers. That eloquence had an elevating effect, necessarily and invariably. It fell as a spark of fire on the unkindled materials of the moral and intellectual soul, and there was a heavenward blaze. As has been observed of music, it made people feel good; and you might have seen big-brained Scotchmen with their hard and intelligent features look as if the preacher had made them pray, for their eyes and foreheads were heavenwards, and their lips were trembling. To such effect we ourselves were often eye and heart witnesses. Occult physio-psychological causalities apart, the secret of this marvellous influence appears, in general terms, to have lain in the thorough greatness and grandness, the thorough goodness and spirituality, the thorough honesty of purpose and fulness of belief in what he was saying; in the rapt inspiration, the poetical, philosophical, and markedly practical qualities of his matter, together with the sublimeness of face and head which seemed to touch the very heavens; and in the immense electric force of energy of the man himself. In a word, as in Peter's case, it was the shadow of his own great soul falling upon his hearers, which caused the virtue that, as leaven, so obviously worked among them. By the way, the following note from Brougham —then plain Henry,— describing his vivid admiration of the famous Edward Irving's pulpit oratory, is in substance about the same as he afterwards expressed of Chalmers himself, and not inapplicable to the character of the latter's sermons (as we may afterwards show), if a man of such originality and fertility can be said to have followed "models" at all. Brougham's note is as follows: "I never was more struck in my life than with the extraordinary powers of Mr. Irving's preaching. He is, indeed, a very great and effectual workman. I am glad to observe that he regards the old and pure models,—not merely the ancient ones, but also the fine pulpit orators of this country in the seventeenth century—which are as a mine of precious ore." We may here just say, that, grand a preacher as Irving was, he was nevertheless as one that beat the air, until Chalmers recognised a method in the madness, so called, of the poor probationer, and appointed him to be his assistant. But for a trivial circumstance Edward Irving, like Oliver Cromwell, might never have been heard of; for both of them were on the immediate eve of starting for America when something "accidentally happened," as the phrase is, to prevent it, and thus to turn round the currents of two great lives into their proper channels.

Who shall put limits to the possibilities of mind when the conditions of organization are favourable to the exercise and display of its powers? Is there not such a thing as genius? And are there not prodigies of genius? Spirit-power in itself is something akin to miracle, if it is not of the very substance of the thing

itself. And, when "everything else is equal," what may we not expect? The spiritual principle only needs the requisite physical instrumentality to give pratical evidence of the sublime fact that it is made in the image of God, and intended by virtue of its being, to soar above the stars, and find its pabulum in the divine and infinite. What we call mind, is the *tertium quid*, of which our body and our spirit linked together in mysterious union, are the combined factors. Spirit, the same as matter, we are taught to look upon as an independent entity. But in a material state of existence, like the one in which we are now sojourning, spirit must have a material organisation, by means of which to be individualized, to manifest its power, and to put forth its activities on its surroundings in time and space. As in the two gases constituting water, matter and spirit would seem to be combined, rather than united; so that man is not so much a compound as a combination. According to this view, matter and spirit are *not* the incompatibles which metaphysicians have so generally supposed, and so dogmatically asserted. As in the case of water, however, subjected to the means and appliances of chemistry, Death, the great transformer, will resolve us into our distinctive constituents; thus changing our relative unity, into real duality. But to return. Where the spirit-force and the physical conditions are all that can be desired, what grandeur of developed and manifested soul may we not look for? What wonderful displays of mental and moral force may we not expect? If the calculating boy, otherwise imbecile of intellect, mentioned by Combe, could do such feats of mental numeration with one organ (Number), what might not such a man as Chalmers do with *all* the organs? There was Magliabechi, too, whose special faculty—memory—could carry a whole library written upon its ample tablet. And there are living men we hear of, and some we know, who, from merely once hearing, or once reading a sermon or speech, can repeat the whole of it verbatim! Spirit-power,—how wonderful! And man—how surely Divine in his origin, spiritual in his profounder essence, and destined to live in higher worlds than this! There *is* a spirit in man (whatever there may be in gorilla), *and*, the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding. Such is the dictum of inspiration, the intuition of common sense, and the finding of philosophy,—at least, as far as philosophy can find out the matter. The grandeur of man's nature rises beyond the reach of all comparison with the nature of any of the animate tribes around him; and, contemplated under the aspect of such a combination of gifts and graces as are exhibited in a Chalmers, it does indeed beam forth in its "excess of bright" as a glory that excelleth, and maketh the splendours of star and of universe look dim! Virtue need only be seen to be admired. And as certain it is that immortality

as seated in the face, and exhibited in the aspirations of a great and good man, need only be seen to be believed. We are great believers in human physiognomy, both in what may be called its practical, and its higher bearings; and we happen to have, posited together the likenesses of two individuals whom, agreeably to a certain philosophy (we were going to say *foolosophy*) we call father and son. The one is a likeness of "Adam" Gorilla, and the other of Immanuel Kant. But, "Oh! the difference to us" between the hairy forefather and the shaven descendant! We also have in our possession Sartain's admirable engraving of Chalmers, beneath which it struck us to inscribe the following (and we know of no reason why we should erase it):—"Any man means, but a great man greatly means, immortality.

'Say, can a soul
Of such extensive, deep, tremendous powers,
Enlarging still, be but a finer breath
Of spirits dancing through their tubes awhile,
And then for ever lost in vacant air?'"

Steward, in his Mediatorial Sovereignty, has the following suggestive and noteworthy observations: "In the system of nature we not only observe a scale of existences in which the different classes admit of comparison with each other, but of those which admit none; for instance, matter and spirit; or even the unorganized mass of the world, and the forms of life which teem upon it. Again, we cannot compare the total of merely sensational life with that of a single individual in whom the spiritual and rational powers are superadded to the sensational. True, the sensational is represented in that individual, and is brought into mysterious conjunction with the spiritual, but there is in reality no community of *essence*. There exists no term of comparison between them. The individual man is greater than the whole animal kingdom which surrounds him, and which he touches in his lower nature.

"Again, we find within the compass of the human race strange varieties; some so distant from each other that the common humanity seems as much a matter of faith as of reason. The style of man is also different in different ages and different circumstances. He is the creature of influences, and not of constitution only. And, again, a specimen occurs here and there of unwonted grandeur; a colossal being lifted almost to the heavens, and gazed upon wonderingly, as well by posterity as by contemporaneous millions. Here is still man, but in such unwonted proportions that he seems to have assimilated for his production the human elements of an age, and to have given to the *mass of* the race an almost totally new conception of the stupendous

powers of their own nature. There seems in that one man to be concentrated more than the humanity of thousands, to whom its excellence is as inaccessible as their translation into gods."

To proceed. "The head is the man;" and, phrenologically speaking, the head of Chalmers was almost perfection itself. It must not be forgotten, however, that the brain is a galvanic battery or electric machine, supplying what used to be called animal spirits, or an ethereal something, to all parts of the body, as well as a congeries of mental organs. "Bumps" being bones, we do not at present take them into account, but leave them to those who like them. But, phrenologically speaking or not, there was a grandeur about Chalmers' head which Jupiter himself might have envied. And the face, too, which looked out of that head, was something to be remembered;—just such a face, one may suppose, as the poet had in his eye when he spoke of the "human face divine." Combe, in one or other of his expositions of phrenology, speaks of Chalmers' enormous *ideality*, to which organ he mainly ascribes his unrivalled brilliancy and effectiveness as a pulpit orator. To sleep under such a preacher he considers to be as much out of the question as not to be delighted with him; and to criticise whilst riding on the swell of such an imagination's tide, he thinks equally impossible. Even such an Aristarchus as Francis Jeffrey himself, he supposes, could not but be "glamoured," with the "light that never was on sea or shore," focussed by the genius, and poured direct by the oratory of Chalmers. And Jeffrey would probably have acknowledged as much himself. He was a great admirer of Chalmers all his life, and has expatiated with great animation on his incomparable merits and magic as the preaching "Wizard of the North." And when Chalmers, like another Moses, was heading a train of five hundred seceding ministers—not, however, from a wilderness towards a Canaan, but from a Canaan to a wilderness (*until* it should be cultivated and made to blossom as the rose) a matter which Scotland and God immediately attended to,—that is to say, from the place in Edinburgh of the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, to the "unconsecrated" wooden walls of Tanfield Hall,—the great critic and quondam editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, then *Lord* Jeffrey, felt the moral sublimity of the scene, and *wept* at the sight! We can imagine Jeffrey, after the memorable event, reading Shakespeare's line of "Conscience doth make cowards of us all," and stopping short at it with the exclamation, "Nay, not of *all*, dear Shakespeare, for it made *heroes* of Chalmers and his five hundred on that day of days, in and for Scotland, when they left the fleshpots of the Establishment to cast themselves on the care of him who careth for them!"

A wonderful power, imagination, for lifting the soul up to great heights of thought—and, language being equal—for setting them in

gorgeous array before the minds of others. And Chalmers, as already stated, possessed this faculty in a pre-eminent degree. To quote Shakespeare again, "his brow was a span broad, I trow," finely rounded on each side with the well-known arch of ideality, which gives great fulness and expressiveness to the temples, as seen in all great poets,—a characteristic of them which is testified to by their portraits without a single exception, as far, at least, as our knowledge extends. This great faculty of imagination not only carries the mind over a comprehensive area of subject, but enables it, as with a prism, to bring out the deeper hues of beauty, to clothe the forms of truth as with the colours of the rainbow, and to put even upon the dry bones of fact the bloom and gracefulness of life. We once heard the Rev. Dr. Begg, of Edinburgh, say that he never knew any man who could make the reading of a Report interesting except Dr. Chalmers. And such triumph he was able to achieve, not only by the impressiveness of his presence and the fervour of his manner, but chiefly by the power he had of every now and then touching dry statistics with flashes of fancy, and making even pounds, shillings, and pence, forget themselves by intromissions of playful humour. The good genius, with its ready inspirations, that ever stood at his side—true as the demon of Socrates—was imagination. It may be here observed that Chalmers had quite a forte and knack at improvising brief and pithy remarks as he went along with his reading, whether from manuscript, report, or what not, those remarks being moral, metaphysical, illustrative, explanatory, humourous, or sarcastic, as the immediate subject might require. A suggestive fancy made him as equal to little forth-puttings as a constructive imagination made him equal to great ones. As the trunk of the elephant can take up a pin and rend an oak with equal dexterity and ease, so that more wonderful instrument, the mind of Chalmers, had elasticity and strength enough to do the little, and to do the great, with equal facility and effect. But beyond those brief improvisations as he proceeded, in his reading, the extemporising capabilities of Chalmers could not go. Trying once, and never but once, to preach without his manuscript, he completely "stuck," and felt that forehead covered with shame and confusion, which, on the whole, like Knox's itself, "never feared the face of man." Strange as it may seem, the commonest stump orator that ever mounted his self-esteem to address a gaping mob has a better "gift of the gab" than had even Chalmers himself. All is not gold that glitters; and all is not eloquence that *talks*, or, if you like, *spouts*!

In passing, a little illustrative incident may be mentioned that we ourselves personally witnessed, and which, as far as we know, has never been recorded. The doctor, surrounded by "great guns" of the Free Church, had just finished the delivery of a quasi-public

lecture, a limited number only being admitted by ticket,—which otherwise would have been inconveniently *un*limited—and, stepping back to sit down, missed the chair, and *came* down bodily —imagination and all—to the floor! Gathering his robes around him, not, like Cæsar, as he fell, but as he rose, he instantly, in his hurried manner and guttural speech (for he was not elocutional, any more than he was stump-oratorical), addressed the half-panic and half titter-struck auditory thus: "That, ladies and gentlemen, was, as you will have observed, a *thumping* conclusion, which, though *posteriorly* offered, and, as one born out of due time, I trust you will accept as completely *demonstrative*."

It were needless to say that the imagination of Chalmers was deeply "dipt in heaven," and delighted most to sit in heavenly places with Christ Jesus, and revel there amid his unspeakable riches. For, to men of his make of mind and compass of thought, Christ and Christianity are either everything or nothing! And, we know *which* they were to him. To the praise of his goodness, —aye, and of his greatness, too,—it can truly be said that the base of all his operations—subjective and objective—was the truth as it is in Jesus. Imagination is indeed an anchor of the soul, sure and precious, when it takes hold "within the veil." But, because it did so in the case of Chalmers, he was not thereby rendered the less practical relatively to the seen and temporal. The citizen was as intent on his hitherward duties and interests, as the christian was intense in his thitherward devotions and expectancies. God bends the Christian mind as he bends his bow in the clouds, so as to make it touch both earth and heaven at the same time. And we shall be supported by all who knew anything about Dr. Chalmers, when we say that his lofty imaginativeness as little interfered with the lowly practices of life, as the solar potencies, which kindle and impel the mighty planets of the sky, interfere with the solar potencies which quicken and adorn the humble grasses of the field. The realistic tendencies of his mind were on a par with the idealistic. The remark of the witty Rowland Hill (if I mistake not the man),—suggested by the squint in Irving's physical eyes,—that that famous preacher had one eye in heaven and the other on earth, would have been equally *apropos* in regard to the diverging directions of look in Chalmers' mental eyes; for, at the same time that he could soar with Milton, dive with Butler, mathematize with Newton, generalise with Bacon, and speculate with Coleridge, he knew and felt as perfectly as Dr. Bunting himself, the mighty import of "a penny a-week, and a shilling a quarter!" The power of littles was with him as potent and important a principle as the power of greats: and his respective life-attentions to the littles and the greats were the two weights which kept his mechanism agoing, and swung into perpetual motion the *pendulum* of his entire activities.

Frederick the Great, in his *Portrait de Voltaire*, gives expression to an idea which most people would call not a little paradoxical. He says that the author of the *Henriade* had a great faculty of imagination, but no invention. The precise words are these: "Il a l'imagination très-vive, et, ce qui paraitra étrange, il n'a presque point d'invention." What he exactly means by "invention" is not very apparent, unless the following contextual sentence throw some light upon it: "Il est politique, physicien, geomêtre, enfin tout ce qu'il veut; mais *manquant de force pour approfondir ces sciences.*" We have not space at present for analysis; but be it as it may have been, in the case of Voltaire, Chalmers, it is obvious, had both imagination and invention. To put it thus: Chalmers was just the man to "exhaust old worlds, and then imagine new;" that is to say, to conceive or "invent" new modes and new economies of existence. On the other hand, the philosopher of Ferney was just the man *not* to do so. The "old" world was enough for him, and he had not done "exhausting" it at fourscore years and more, when he died, and so lost his opportunity (whether he had the requisite "invention" or not) to imagine "new" ones. All his exhausting, however, did not make him happy, for he was in the habit of saying, "I wish I had never been born." So he had evidently *not got much* out of the "old" world anyhow, any more than did æsthetic Goëthe, who declared at eighty, that all the happiness he had had in his whole life might be put into the space of five minutes! But, to proceed. There is nothing like imagination, when steeped in Christian truth and Christian sentiment, for raising the mind above the littlenesses and nothingnesses of the present scene of things, and making it "reach forth to the things that are before." If philosophy makes us think, and science makes us know, it is reserved for religion to make us feel and rejoice, that we live in a *universe!* Voltaire was as earth-prone as he was fancy-full—for that, we think, is a better word to describe him than "imaginative"—and, as is well-known, wrote as much for money as he did for fame; and only for fame that it might bring him money. Chalmers, on the contrary, was as unearthly as he was imaginative; and, as we have already seen, though he was practical to the last degree as regards the petty finites of a material existence, yet at the same time he laid a giant's grasp on the mighty infinites which already touched him on the side where his intuitions, his aspirations, and his faith as a Christian philosopher, lay.

Invention does not, of course, mean creation; for there is no such thing as the latter possible to the powers of man. As we understand the term, it means combination, and implies the power of bringing ideas together in a novel, striking, and comprehensive manner; and if this be its true meaning, then did Chalmers pos-

sess inventiveness to an extent which, if not Shakespearian exactly, was, at any rate, all but that. And, as to the matter of "approfondant," or penetrating to the bottom of, the sciences, he certainly had talents and turn as profoundly scientific as they were profoundly ethical and philosophic; and might have become, had circumstances been so ordered, equally eminent as a *savant* * as he was as a sage. Although he made theology and the subjects immediately related to it his chief study, yet he was, at the same time, a great mathematician, not only as to faculty, but in the rarer matter of actual acquirement, and felt himself at home amid the higher exercitations of a Newton and a Laplace. Natural science, especially the science of natural philosophy, was quite to his taste. Whether, had he confined his great mind exclusively to exact science and the study of nature, he could have brought to bear upon it an amount of inventiveness or originality equal to that which produced the elaborations of a Newton's Principia, or of a Swedenborg's Animal Kingdom, is a question we are not able to determine. But certain we are, that his grandly imaginative, and almost as grandly ratiocinative powers, entitle him to be placed in the same rank of intellectual status, to which these works belong. As to reason and imagination, we have a theory to the effect, that they so lie at the roots of all the mental and of all the moral faculties, as to deserve to be designated, in strictness, as their factors. As all the forms of nature are found to lie within the enclosure of two limits, consisting of the straight line and the curve, so, as it appears to us—whatever phrenologists may say to the contrary—all the faculties of the mind proper, lie within the limits of those two master-principles of the human soul, reason and imagination. And this, we think, we could have proved in brief space, had opportunity permitted, which it does not at present do. From Aristotle to Hamilton, all the schools of mental science have, of course, some things in common; yet they all differ from each other, not merely as to the details, but in some of the leading principles of their science. We can only say at present that we do not look upon the different faculties as fundamentally separate and detached; but hold that all of them, more or less, imply each other, and are only names for the different operations of the mysterious soul, their *fons et origo*. To speak figuratively, and no doubt with some degree of scientific truth, too, the human head may be called a hive, and the faculties the bees, each having its own cell, whence it issues forth to seek

* During his early ministry Chalmers was enthusiastically devoted to the study of chemistry, so much so, indeed, as to make theological and biblical studies secondary and subordinate to it. After his "conversion," that and every other scientific study occupied comparatively little of his time or attention.—EDITOR.

its pabulum in the surrounding objective and subjective creation In Chalmers' noble hive the *king* bee was imagination, and the *queen* bee reason—as we may put it.

Now, that Chalmers was a great man, and a prince of preachers none will deny. "Some men," says Bacon, "are born great some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them;" and the doctor, having possessed all those greatnesses might properly enough be called Chalmers the Great. But has he, after all, that wonderful greatness which the mighty word *genius* implies? A word, this, easy to spell, but hard to define. The question naturally occurs, what *is* genius? "What do you mix your colours with?" was once asked of Fuseli. "With brains, sir," was the reply. Sir Joshua Reynolds, while admiring some clever painting, would often exclaim, "But, dash me, wants *that!*" And Carlyle will have it that genius is just "the faculty of taking infinite pains." Now, out of the "brains," the "pains," and the "that," we may leave it for the present, at least to our readers, to see if they can gather what genius really is. Such subjects do not like to be teased. Like delicate flowers they soon lose their aroma and lustre with handling, and prefer to be dealt with by intuition rather than by metaphysic and logic.

Our limits, meanwhile, are reached. We may be permitted however, to present our readers with the following few stanzas of anonymous poetry. They contain in about equal measure two elements seldom found united in effusions of the Muse. They are at once extremely beautiful and extremely philosophic. Moreover—and this is the reason why we offer them—they represent a nicety the spirit in which the subject of our paper lived. As a photograph of *him*, as regards his higher mental and moral idiosyncrasies, and soul's-tendencies, the likeness is perfect.

"This world I deem
But a beautiful dream
Of shadows, which are not what they seem;
Where visions rise,
Giving dim surmise
Of things that shall meet our waking eyes.

Hardly they shine
Through the outer shrine,
As, beneath the veil of flesh Divine,
Beamed forth the light
Which were else too bright
For the feebleness of a sinner's sight.

I gaze aloof
On the tissued roof,
Where time and space are the warp and whoof,
Which the King of kings, as a curtain, flings
O'er the dreadfulness of eternal things.

A tapestried tent
To shade us meant,
From the brave everlasting firmament;
When the blaze of the skies
Comes soft to the eyes,
Through the veil of mystical imageries.

But could I see,
As in truth they be,
The glories of Heaven that encompass me,
I should lightly hold
The tissued fold
Of that marvellous curtain
Of blue and gold.

Soon the whole,
Like a parched scroll,
Shall before my amazed sight uproll;
And, without a screen,
At one burst be seen
The Presence wherein I've ever been.

Oh! who shall bear
The blinding glare,
Of the majesty that shall be there?
What eye may gaze
On the unveiled blaze
Of the light-girdled throne of the Ancient of Days?"

JABEZ COLE.

(To be concluded in May number.)

ART. II.—THE ANCIENT GREEK THEATRE.

THE history of dramatic literature, and the influence it has wielded, both in ancient and modern times, cannot be uninteresting to the man of refined and cultivated taste. That the theatre has existed as a powerful institution for upwards of two thousand years; that it has been a potent means of moulding the character and habits of the people, by whom it has been patronised; that, in many respects, it has reflected the national sentiment on important historical events, and held them up as in a mirror of faithful representation; and that it has found expression in a gigantic mass of beautiful, fascinating, and sublime poetry and prose, none but the most prejudiced and fanatical will be disposed to question. That the theatre is to be condemned because it professes to be a school, neither of absolute virtue nor pure religion, but simply a stage which furnishes an intellectual relaxation, an amusing relief to the cares of business, and avowedly a

picture of human life in action, and in which the spectator may see himself as in a glass, "both his better and his worser parts," is unwise and unjust. Strictly speaking, we have no more right to expect the stage to be a pulpit, than we are entitled to expect from it lessons in political science. And equally unreasonable and unfair it is, that the theatre should be condemned because of the scope and incitement it affords for the indulgence of hearty laughter and cheerful merriment. The risible elements of our nature—the harmlessness which may invest mirth—the playfulness that essentially mingles in many of our social scenes and blended humours, are far from being condemnable, unlawful, or impure. On what grounds the theatre, as at present constituted and conducted, should be shunned and reprobated, may come to be specified in its proper place, but, in the forefront, we would be distinctly understood as honest and conscientious in our belief, that there are certain conditions in which it might not be improper to countenance the theatre.

To the student of the histrionic art, as the drama has been felicitously called by its *habitues* and admirers, its first appearance, especially in Greece, where it soon acquired an absorbing attention among all classes of the community, was on a scale in striking contrast with the dignified splendour, intellectual ability, and earnest reverence which are sought and recognised as its stately purpose to embody. We search in vain for that correct delineation of "pride, pomp, and circumstance," which go to constitute much of its present claims to general approval. On the contrary, its pristine character has pretty closely clung to it —its chief object being to evoke the sympathy of the audience by an appeal to the depraved passions; and fitted only, by its disgusting familiarities, extravagant modes, and coarse buffoonery, to please a class accustomed to the lowest and most degrading revelry. It is scarcely fair for Schlegel to dismiss, in a curt sentence, the rude and unpromising source from which the grand masterpieces of Grecian tragedy sprang; and yet, the unquestionable rapidity with which the drama rose from the sorriest portraiture to the loftiest and grandest acme of refined taste, seems somewhat incredible. There is no doubt that Homer's works are the main fountain of all the epic poetry which was subsequently written, both in Greece and Rome. In the mythical tales of their divine and heroic patrons, the people, with childlike credulity, eagerly admired the development of their own human nature. Their gods were not mere natural forces personified, but thoughts and feelings of humanity composing an *ethical* world; and hence there was a stern reality in such effusions to the popular mind, interwoven as they were with their own political, patriotic, and religious institutions. Then began to flourish the lyrical poetry in which Anacreon, Pindar, and Sappho

employed the language of Homer to express their diverse emotions in amorous, pious, or voluptuous strains. Then song and the music of speech, with the accessories of flute and lyre, were cultivated. Thus story, song and music combined to form the original drama, and continue to form it still.

Now, in this transitional period, there were introduced from Egypt among the Greeks, the Dionysia, or great festival, in honour of Bacchus, a festival which, in after times, played such a conspicuous part; and this, to some extent, accounts for the established character of Attic comedy. It is scarcely possible to describe this Pagan saturnalia in language decorous, or in harmony with Christian civilization. The whole scene was one of the wildest description. Men and women fantastically arrayed, crowned with garlands of the vine, olive and ivy, disguised in the hairy skins of animals, their faces smeared over with the lees of wine, some playing upon pipes and flutes, others dancing in ridiculous attitudes, and filling the air with hideous shrieks,—the whole presenting a spectacle of the utmost lewdness, extravagance, and intemperate madness. Amid such licensed sensuality, celebrated in the name of "religion," we discover the traditional Thespis, to whom belongs the honour of giving something like system to this riot and revelry. We find him and his strolling mountebanks, consisting of a corps of reeling fellows, dancing on slippery bladders; or, mounted on a waggon-platform, pouring forth their surprising narratives with gesticulating movements, and often spiced with witty questions and remarks cast in by the auditors. Who, then, could have expected, coming from such a holiday-party of rough peasants, or such a roguish company of comedians, that in scarcely half a century Æschylus was destined to aid in converting this rustic amusement, so coarse, and often so obscene, into that glorious concert of all the delightful faculties,—intellect, imagination, affection, and taste—which the majestic cadences of his poetry can but faintly restore to us?

A new and illustrious era was dawning upon Greece, remarkable for events that secured, not only freedom, but political existence to the nation. To have been an eye-witness of the most glorious event in her history—the overthrow and annihilation of the Persian hosts under Darius and Xerxes,—and to have won the memorable and decisive battles of Marathon and Salamis, were honours of which the Grecians of that day might well be proud. And no sooner were the invaders driven back, and the country secure from foreign invasion, than the golden age of Hellenic grandeur began, and ran an unparalleled career of glory for nearly a hundred years. It was the age of Plato and Socrates among philosophers, Phidias and Polycletus among sculptors, Themistocles and Alcibiades among generals, Pericles

and Cimon among statesmen, Herodotus and Thucydides among historians, and Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes among poets. All these men of genius then lived and wrought, and each in his peculiar sphere shed lustre on Athens, the "Eye of Greece."

It is with the poets we have now to do, and especially their connection with dramatic art. They form two classes. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides constitute a triad of tragic poets, and Aristophanes is the sole representative of the old Grecian comedy, whose poems are extant. It were superfluous to attempt a comparison of the respective excellencies of the triad. They shine resplendent in their special orbits, and their poetry is greatly modified by the peculiar circumstances of the times in which they lived. We possess only a small portion of their works, but those of Euripides much exceed in number those of the other two.

Æschylus is justly regarded as the creator of tragedy. "In full panoply she sprang from his head, like Pallas from the head of Jupiter." His dramas were designed, at once, to satisfy the public craving for emotional entertainment, and to provide means of moral instruction with a gratification of the religious sensibilities more salutary than the barbarous orgies of which the people were but too fond. Consistently with this purpose he erected a suitable stage, furnished his actors with masks, dressed them in propriety to their characters, introduced the cothurnus which raised them to heroic stature, instructed the choristers in their duties, developed scenic pomp, and frequently appeared himself as an actor. His poetry evinces an excessive strain of earnest sublimity, which finds vent in describing deeds of murder and portents dire. The softer feelings of human nature—the kindliness and courtliness of amiable and gentle intercourse, find no expression in his tragedies. His element being that of the severest terror, holding up before the petrified spectators the head of Medusa, and realizing as presiding over mortals an extremely austere destiny, he makes his whole poetry gravitate towards the two poles of inward liberty and external necessity. The secret of this complex, but simple character, is of easy explanation. His generation consisted of "men such as Marathon only could make"—stout, valiant warriors, who, against tremendous odds, had routed the Persian hosts both on sea and shore, and secured the independence of their native land; who had been content to believe implicitly all that Homer and their poets had taught them; and who, seeing around them, through the natural conscience, traces of some mysterious force, whose agency and purpose they were unable to explain, they made a god of this necessity or fate, and called it Nemesis. Having thus secured the great truth of a moral government over human affairs, Æschylus

planted on a visible elevation a secret order of justice pervading the apparent confusion, whence as from a pulpit enveloped with thick clouds, or from a heathen "Sinai wrapped in fearful thunders and lightnings," he trumpeted forth scorching warnings, and hurled his bolts of flaming denunciation against sin. Now and then, in the dimness of the heathen world, he missed the mark; often he was misunderstood; but, in his martial vehemence, this man of "grave words" was a preacher of righteousness; showed his fidelity as a great moral teacher according to the light he possessed; enforced the practice of modesty and truthfulness, reverence for parents and divine things, temperance and justice in the hour of success, and patience and fortitude in the hour of misfortune. Such teaching Greece had never before enjoyed; and when we recollect that it was confined not to the select disciples of the philosophic grove, but proclaimed with the boldness and bravery of a warrior's heart, who had fought at Salamis and Marathon, to the thousands congregated within the theatre—we willingly crown him as the first of tragedians, displaying "a grandeur more than mortal," never excelled either before or since. A single sentence may serve to describe the sentiments which pervade a tragedy of Æschylus—sultry, portentous gloom in the commencement, rising alarm and desperation, horror paralyzing all attempts to escape; then, bursting fury of the irresistible tempest, the spread of ruin and desolation,—and after the catastrophe, after the withdrawal of the grim cause of all this woe, satiated with destruction, the dawn of a more peaceful day, and the chastened, comforting thoughts of the grateful survivors.

Sophocles, styled the Shakespeare of the Grecian stage, was in every respect the child of a more indulgent providence than his predecessor. He lived contemporaneously with him and Euripides, his birth having been at an equal distance from those of both, and he survived them both. Few have been so highly favoured as Sophocles. Every blessing of beneficent goodness enriched his lot of life. His parents were of the Patrician order, and wealthy. He was a free citizen of the most enlightened state of Greece, and resided at Athens in the height of her splendour. The beauty of his person was only equalled by his genius, and each was trained to the utmost perfection. He lived amid the masterpieces of art, the sweetest harmonies of poetry, and the exercises of profoundest wisdom. He frequently won the crown of wild olive, was regarded with universal respect by his fellow-citizens, and, to speak in the language of his age, was dear to the gods as no other man was. Such are the main features of this amiable, accomplished, and devout-minded man, who was known as the "Attic Bee."

Not less different was Sophocles from Æschylus in physical qualities than in the characteristics of his poetry. The transition

is like entering an age and region altogether new and strange. In place of the grand, we have the graceful, and instead of roaring storms and unearthly gloom we have the breathing zephyr and genial sunshine. The dark imagery, the bold conceptions, the colossal Titans, and the blood-avenging Furies—these have gone; and now the scene moves with the creations of flesh and blood, endowed with human affections and sympathies, true and real, because their types were taken from the ranks of men. On every page of his tragedies we find a serene sweetness, a finished beauty, a winning tenderness, and faultless accuracy; and these are made by his moderation, taste and wisdom, so successful in weaving his plots and painting scenes and persons, that we are left no choice whatever, but to yield ourselves to his enchanting spell. He was, no doubt, greatly indebted to Æschylus, but he has the honour of having completed what Æschylus rudely planned. His compositions are more artistically constructed; his diction is cast in a richer, chaster, and purer mould; the rhythm of his verse is more flowing and smooth; while such is his delicacy of feeling, high chivalrous principles, and the ethereal spirit of his pious sentiments, that wonder and fascination are alike awakened in the mind, and almost constrain us to join with Professor Plumptre in recognising him as one of those who were, in their degree, "schoolmasters unto Christ." Besides, when we thus refer to the religious character of his poetry, we perceive at once that he has stepped forth into a new world of spiritual thought. The iron fatalism which brooded over and controlled the affairs of gods and men—all things in heaven and earth—a creed in its inflexible justice and wrath which ceaselessly haunted the murderer and evil-doer through life, and, even after death, was modified and softened by his plastic hand. His city and state no longer living in dread of foreign invasion, and their rights and freedom having been secured by solemn treaties, a new epoch began, celebrated for its maritime and commercial enterprise and activity. They launched forth in their light galleys, planted new colonies, and formed new alliances. The love of adventure quickened within them the spirit of self-reliance, so that where they had before trembled and believed, they now doubted and inquired. They felt themselves endowed with a nobleness of which they had never dreamed. They claimed more to themselves, and ascribed less to the blind agency of destiny. Rationalism entered the lists with faith, and the struggle that ensued was short and decisive. They burst the fetters which had bound them, treated with ridicule an inevitable doom beneath which they had shuddered, and claimed not only a liberty of choice in action, but maintained that men made themselves what they are by truth or falsehood, by virtue or vice. In every chorus of Sophocles, the first ode

being a solemn prayer, he recognises the fact that it is men themselves who play the fool with the times, while "the spirits of the wise sit in the clouds and mock them." Thus the stern, malignant power of a constantly-pursuing fate lapses into the idea of a just judgment, which measures out unto all a retribution according to their deeds. Very few, indeed, are the lines which could be extracted from his plays, even when dealing with the most indelicate passions, that would bring blushes to the most virtuous cheek; but hundreds might be gleaned whose high moral tone reads like fragments of the Holy Scriptures. He lays bare with an unsparing hand humanity in its feebleness and shortsightedness—heaps on men every epithet of meanness, and gathers round them every element of misery and woe—"phantoms;" "shadows;" "creatures of a day;" "they are marching on to fame and greatness, when the ground is opening beneath their feet, and they are sinking to destruction;" "they are boasting of their strength when they are really displaying their weakness." But, in contrast with this, he exalts the unsearchable wisdom, omnipotent power, and unfailing goodness of a personal and omnipotent Deity—"neither sleeping nor waxing faint in the cycle of years;" "nothing is impossible with him;" "his works may perish, but he lives for eternity." "Happiness is a fruit that grows in his garden only;" "to honour him is the first and greatest of commandments."

The changes introduced by Sophocles on the Athenian stage were important and effective. He increased the number of actors present at once on the scene, attired them in gorgeous robes, jewelled chaplets, and broad embroidered girdles. He also shortened the length of the chorus in proportion to the dialogue, increased the number of singers, and gave a new form and spirit to the music which accompanied their odes. It is, therefore, possible for us to imagine the profound effect which the beautiful, simple, but earnest music of the tragic chorus would produce on the audience in the Athenian theatre, sung in unison by well-trained singers, where the masks of perfect beauty, the dress in long and graceful folds, and the majestic stature of the actors, gave a solemn and almost supernal character to the scene; and, if the echoes of this sweet and entrancing melody, now rising loud and clear, and then dying away in pathetic cadence, are to be caught anywhere in dramatic literature in perfection, it is in the odes of the choruses of Sophocles.

Euripides, whom Aristotle styles the most pathetic of tragic poets, and who is commonly known as the Scenic Philosopher, occupies quite a different relation to the tragic muse from that of any of his predecessors. His poetry lacks the majesty and power of Æschylus, and the refined beauty and elegance of Sophocles; but what it wants in boldness and refinement, it excels in correct

conception and in the delineation of human passion; and no other dramatist, if we except Shakespeare, has supplied moralists with a greater number of maxims of truth and duty, or taken wider and more liberal views of humanity. It was said by one of his contemporaries that "Æschylus painted men *greater* than they can be, Sophocles as they *ought* to be, and Euripides as they *are*." For much that we know of him we are indebted to the criticisms of his enemies. He was born at Salamis, 480 B.C., and the day that witnessed the great sea-fight which has immortalized its name, is generally received as his natal day. Respecting his father little is known, but it is highly probable that he occupied a respectable position in society. His mother, Clito, stands out more conspicuously, and, as the Athenians prided themselves on their high breeding, the *bar sinister* has been drawn across the family escutcheon of Euripides by his detractors, who represent Clito as having been an herb woman, kept a greengrocer's shop, or hawked fruit and vegetables about the streets. The schooling of Euripides was of the roughest sort. He was trained for the Olympic games in boxing and wrestling—a profession which in after times he regarded with unmingled disgust, while for the whole tribe of oracle-mongers and prophets, who had induced his father so to devote his son, he evinced the most extraordinary aversion.

The cultivation of the mind rather than of the muscles turned out to be the proper business of Euripides; and his rivals—those of the dramatic rather than those of the athletic art; and of all his instructors, Protagorus, the ancient Hobbes, acquired the greatest influence over our young poet. The man, therefore, who could express disbelief in the baneful effects of an eclipse—who could treat only as respectable traditions the national legends—who could look upon the grim but picturesque stories of the old and waning times as inconsistent with the bright, free, and intelligent Athens in which he dwelt—such a man's religious opinions may easily have been regarded as grossly heretical. Though compelled by the laws which regulated scenic representations to deal with the gods as the State prescribed, and the multitude required, stil he made it no secret that he thought the whole Homeric theology unsound; and as the court of Areopagus no longer took cognisance of every slight offence against religion, it consulted its own safety by allowing the gods to look after their own interests. It has been well put by Mr. Donne, that "Euripides was at the most a Pantheist. He believed in the unity of God, in his providence, omnipotence, justice, and care of human beings. Supreme mind or intelligence was his Jupiter—unreasoning faith his Apollo."

But there was much besides calculated to shock and alienate from Euripides the good opinion of his countrymen. His social habits were those of a recluse, and this was sufficient to put him

down in the black books of the frivolous and gossiping Athenians. He never seems to have interested himself in public affairs, or to have filled any office, either civil or sacred. He was commonly accounted a useless, morose, and sulky fellow, and purposely avoided the various literary coteries, who gathered in obsequious affinity around their established guides. He preferred retirement and the company of his books to the distracting uproar of the market-place, and the disturbance of the crowded assemblies. He was an ardent student of metaphysics, and lived on agreeable terms only with those who meddled with matters too high for them—Iconoclasts who would have overthrown every altar, and despised as dreams the strongest, the holiest, and the best convictions. Here were rocks of offence in abundance to the masses, and, as with them lay the decision of awarding the ivy crown, it excites no surprise that, with their deep-rooted prejudices and old-fashioned ways, they should have been exceedingly chary in wreathing *his* temples with the symbol of victory, who was esteemed a corruptor of youth, a bad citizen, a covert atheist, and an avowed hater of women.

That Euripides deserves to be classed among the great poets; that there are portions of his works of rare and refined beauty; that he was regarded by many who succeeded him with the most extravagant admiration; that the bitter and unceasing persecution he sustained at the hands of Aristophanes only caused his deserved excellencies to be the more highly praised; and that he will compare favourably with many of modern times who have displayed the most astonishing ability and feeling in dramatic literature, none but a biassed and hostile critic would be inclined to deny. When, however, we have said these things, we have said almost all that can be stated in his favour. Having little reverence for the celestial in his heart, he glories in depicting the subjects which claim the devout homage of humanity with a light and frivolous hand. His nature appears totally destitute of what makes a healthful, happy, genial, and religious man. The passionate, the low, the fiendish, and the knavish, are the elements which his chief *dramatis personæ* illustrate. Moral virtues are held by him at a low discount, and many lines of his poetry may be culled, fitted to undermine the very foundations of honour and purity. He never portrays the baser features of conduct and reputation in such a mien as to lead his readers to sympathize with struggling integrity and misfortune, but endeavours to win for the thoroughgoing villain an equal consideration as for the object of his deceptions. Much of this is explained, no doubt, by the habits of the people whose approbation he sought to gain. Still, it must ever stand as an unworthy motive, in the opinion of all right-thinking men, that such a pandering to vicious tastes, and such practising on depraved propensities as he indulges in, should be so

frequently displayed by a poet of such transcendent talents. And these are the evils which have in a great measure secured him immortality. None of his contemporaries have been so slavishly imitated. His trickery and straining after effect have formed a rich mine from which many modern dramatists have drawn their stock of rank sensationalism. Indeed, taking the most charitable view of his plays possible, we are compelled to aver that their general tendency is to corrupt the heart, blunt the emotions, produce undisguised effeminacy, and encourage unbridled licentiousness.

Euripides was the last of the great tragic poets. In his hands tragedy lost its sweetness, majesty, and power. Perhaps one reason is that the proper subjects for it were exhausted. Pagan mythology was not infinite in its details or striking incidents; and this was its choice and only realm. But, while it was dying, a new form of drama started into vigorous existence, and expended its trenchant might in a manner that awakened engrossing interest among all classes of the people. We refer to comedy, which found in Aristophanes an imperial and unrivalled master.

It is at Athens, between 427—390 B.C., that we see a new aspect coming over the hitherto sombre face of the world. All the pictures we have of its first ages lead us to suppose that the people were grave rather than gay; sad, rather than jocose; sometimes smiling, but never laughing. The Hebrew Scriptures, which abound with many picturesque descriptions of the state of the earliest oriental society, furnish not a single scene of mirthful joy. In the poetry of Homer the same quietude, sobriety, and earnestness prevail. All this is the more remarkable when we have reason to imagine that such phases of domestic life must have occurred, both among the "chosen people" and the roistering divinities of Olympus, as to have led to scenes of a playful and humoursome character. Let us turn, then, to Athens at the time to which we have referred, and there we see a state of things existing which rendered her, of all the other cities of antiquity, the place where the most pungent wit, and petulant hilarity, and stinging sarcasm, were afforded the fairest field and freest scope. When all the other states of Greece appeared to be inert—exhausted by their prolonged broils and fightings—it was the grand focus of political intrigue, the great palpitating heart of polish and refinement in the civilized world; but, on account of the licentiousness of its social and political institutions, it conferred the most unlimited sweep for every variety of individual energy, caprice, vice, and genius.

In referring to the origin of "gorgeous tragedy, the most moral and most profitable of all poems," according to Milton, we saw that it was pervaded with a strange combination of superstition and excitement, which put even the imagination to the stretch to

account for their being the source of the most exalted poetic productions. But equally rude was the origin of ancient comedy, which is confessedly less dignified and assuming in its nature, but hardly less intellectual and interesting. It was introduced from Syracuse, and, in the hands of the Doric Epicharmus, first attained to artistic excellence. His works are now almost lost. He chiefly borrowed his materials from the mythical world. But as the wits of men sharpened, and as there is an instinctive principle in human nature against treating in a sportive and ludicrous vein the most serious and important interests of man, the relation of comedy to divine and religious things fell into disuse, and public life and character became the legitimate subject-matter of its frolicsome exposures and assaults. Claiming to be an instrument of caricature and censorship, it soon found a hearty welcome, and abundance of material for its vent, among the uproarious and fierce democracy of Athens. Without entirely losing sight of its devotional origin, or its lyrical form, but imitating, or rather parodying tragedy, it was found to be a convenient vehicle for personal invective, and, latterly, it became the general censor of the manners, politics, literature, and philosophy of the day, running amuck and tilting at all it met, wherever it found food for scandal and abuse, whether among gods or men.

But, fertile as a city like Athens might have been in subjects of badinage, it was not to be expected that it would long be confined to what was proper, in an entertainment originating in drunken country revels, and only altered its character to suit the still more whimsical tastes of the town. It was at once the licensed censor and the chartered libertine. With unscrupulous freedom it represented on the stage, in person and by name, and exposed to the ridicule of the vast audience that assembled in the theatre whatever, either of public or private character, was best calculated to raise a laugh. It was, therefore, often bitterly personal and hotly political. The people demanded something *strong*, and the authors took care to comply with the demand. Not a blunder in state administration, not a slip in morals, not a personal defect, not a peculiarity in taste, opinion, or behaviour, escaped the unsparing castigation of a muse, that was sure to please, if not when most scurrilous, at least when the merriment was most bizarre. It was a sacrifice nominally to Bacchus, but really to the goddess of Mirth, and he who laughed loudest and longest was the most devout. Now, as in tragedy, above and beyond the Olympic divinities, or even the mightier Titanic race that preceded them, there hung ominously like a thunder-cloud a mysterious and awful power—Fate; so in comedy, the corresponding influence paramount to all considerations of morals, taste or politics, was—FUN!

When Aristophanes arose in Athens as a dramatic writer, the

illustrious men we have already mentioned as contemporaries of Sophocles had to a large extent completed their labours. The city had grown up under his eyes, and presented a spectacle of architectural beauty and finish that has rendered her evermore memorable in the history of the world. In his youth he had watched the erection of hall and temple, portico and promenade, theatre and gymnasium, courts of law and fortifications. He had beheld, in all their freshness, the painted porch, adorned with cartoons of Athenian victories and heroes, and the gold and ivory statue of Pallas Athene, which served as a beacon to guide the mariner far out on the Ægean sea; while the imagination finds a latitude for its widest strain of grandeur, in combining the Parthenon, Acropolis, Areopagus, and other sacred and secular monuments, for which the spoils of the Persian war, or the tribute of the allies, furnished abundant means. And while the material splendour of the city raised her to a pitch of unrivalled magnificence, there gathered within her walls a greater number of world-renowned men than have ever been congregated within so brief a period in any one city on the face of the globe. Strangers, attracted by business or pleasure, flocked to her from every quarter. There was room and employment for all. Thus she rose, in an incredibly short time, from being a secondary power in Greece, to be superior to the wealthy and enterprising Corinth, and more famous than Sparta in war and arms. Indeed, a city which had, almost single-handed, fought and triumphed, and secured national independence, deserved to hold the supremacy, till luxury, idleness, and licentiousness sapped her foundations, and she, who had valid grounds for glorying in her noble ancestry, and had afforded a home to the exile, hospitality to the stranger, and redress to the injured, bowed her head before the machinations of internal intrigue, and had her best blood shed through the horrors of unjustifiable and fratricidal war.

Aristophanes basked in the full sunshine of Athens' greatness and glory, and, with indignation and sadness, he witnessed her decline. The causes of the latter are not far to seek. The Peloponnesian war entailed on her calamities unutterable, drove her surrounding inhabitants into the city, destroyed her food resources, and cooped up within her walls an immense crowd of foreign adventurers. Two visitations of the plague deepened the tints of the direful picture. The reins of government were seized by a host of unworthy demagogues and incapable generals, and disaster attended all their efforts. The liberty of public speech was greatly curtailed. Other changes transpired, ruinous to a people formerly proud and brave. The republican institutions which had carried democracy, not only into the legislative assemblies, but into the courts of law, brought not only public questions, but private dis-

putes to the decision of an irresponsible rabble. And this radical defect in the government had been vastly aggravated by the perilous innovation of Pericles, in awarding a small payment to each of these numerous judges, large enough to tempt the poor and idle, but not the rich and industrious, to give up their time to the trial of private causes. Hence litigation became the common employment of the great body of the people, and gave rise to a class of informers, or sycophants as they were called, who at once flourished under public encouragement, or sank under public contempt. At the same time there arose a new school of philosophy, which reckoned among its disciples the richer and more intellectual portion of the young generation, who were attracted by the novelty of the tenets propounded, the ability and eloquence of the teachers, and the variety of illustrations and brilliant repartee, which were remarkable features in their system. These were the Sophists, whose aim was to corrupt the principles of all sound science and education. They converted philosophy into a dialectic exercise, and rendered universally popular an art which professed nothing short of levelling the distinctions of the beautiful and the true. Now, it was amidst such national and domestic disturbance—such metaphysical jargon, wild speculation and doctrine of free thought, that the arch-satirist lived, and to us it is extraordinary, how the merciless chastisement he administered could be borne with, much less greeted with rapture, and rewarded by the ivy crown.

It is scarcely possible within the limits that remain to us, to give a correct estimate of the works of Aristophanes. He was a poet of the very highest order, a true patriot, keenly conservative of the old order of things, and, with few exceptions, the objects of his wit and ridicule deserved the withering treatment they received at his hands. He rendered Attic comedy as famous as Attic tragedy had been; and higher praise cannot be bestowed. It is chiefly in this capacity he is to be admired, and awakens our interest; for, noble as are his sentiments on public affairs, forcible and curious as are his pictures of Athenian customs and manners, they would scarcely repay a search for them amid so much filth and buffoonery,—but for the imagination, the wit, the humour, the diction and the melody, which combine to rank his works among the most pleasing relics of ancient literature. It is in the comedies of Aristophanes that we see the Athenians at home. The skeleton of the republic, supplied by the historian, is clothed by the poet with flesh and blood, skin, features, and colouring. He lays every thing under tribute to minister to the finish and accuracy of his pictures. Characters of all sorts and sizes are painted in all their breadth and vitality. Men and gods are alike held up before the good-humoured audience in every fantastic attitude. He had recourse to

such dramatic vagaries as clouds, birds, wasps, and frogs, besides the usual stock characters of Grecian life; and amid such an incongruous mass, he never lost sight of the practical object to be attained, even when fun and frolic seemed to be his sole business. The termination of the war, the humbling of the demagogues, the exposure of the Sophists, the departure from the simple habits of the good old times, the disgrace of the Sycophants, the ridicule of the pseudo-poets, the fickle affections of the assemblies, and the general frivolity and litigiousness of his countrymen, are the principal targets against which Aristophanes shoots his countless arrows; and we must admit his motives to be patriotic and just. Schlegel tells us that "The elegant choice of language becomes only the more attractive from the contrast in which it is occasionally displayed by him; for he not only indulges at times in the rudest expressions of the people, the different dialects, and even in the broken Greek of barbarians; but he extends the same arbitrary power which he exercises over nature and human affairs to language itself, and by composition, allusion to names of persons, or imitation of particular sounds, coins the strangest words imaginable." Now, it is in this literary excellence and lofty purpose that his comedies differ from modern farce; while, on the other hand, they differ from modern comedy in the breadth of their humour and the extravagance of their conception. There are no intricate plots to unravel, and no profundity of character to develop. Such a production cannot be designated strictly as comedy or farce; it is both of these in one, or a dashing burlesque, combined with the music of the opera, the dancing of the ballet, and the poetry of tragedy. Hence the great importance of Aristophanes, whose poetry forms a school by itself, and of which no similar specimens exist in the whole range of ancient and modern dramatic literature.

On this account it is difficult to find a connection between the works of Aristophanes and the chaste and pure principles which otherwise distinguish Attic poetry. They constitute an enduring literary monument, scarcely equalled in purity of language and melody of versification. In almost every line there are splendid sallies of wit, often when least expected, and parodies on persons and current events, which lead us to suspect that much truth and propriety are often sacrificed to the love of a joke. Once he gets upon a track the most unlikely circumstance frequently explodes into a train of associations of the most ludicrous stamp; and when the whip is once swung round there is no foretelling where the lash will fall, except, perhaps, that it is most likely to fall where least expected. Undeterred by any of our notions of decorum, the dramatist showed no reluctance to dive into the filthiest abyss; but directly from that, he often wings his

flight into the loftiest regions of imagination, or assumes the sternest tones of the moralist. He gives us strange insights into the every-day life of the people for whom Plato thought and Demosthenes thundered. He shows us one side of those, of whom the other is to be seen in the annals of Thucydides. Had his works come down to us divested of their grosser elements, and merely as works of art, they would have been ranked with the noblest efforts of the tragic muse; and had they reached us without their artistic refinements, it would have been supposed that they were the choicest examples we possess of Athenian Billingsgate. It is the union in them of the highest excellences and the lowest indelicacies—perfect galaxies of wit, and the coarsest buffoonery—that makes them so precious; for they teach us that no degree of merely intellectual cultivation or polished genius is incompatible with the most unblushing immorality. They show us what the world has gained as well as lost as it has advanced; for, while we have good comedies and abundance of poetry, no stage could exhibit, and no modern audience would tolerate, what seems to have been not only tolerated, but highly relished by the Athenians. But, while we condemn their licentiousness, let us be just to Aristophanes, who corrected the evil rather than aggravated it, and withal dignified his art by the sincerity of a patriot and the richest resources of a poet.

We must here take our leave of these grey old fathers of the ancient drama; and we have purposely abstained from quoting any appropriate illustrations of their poetic gifts. Our chief concern is not to pick out fine extracts from their remains, but to help our readers to understand, if not to appreciate, their tone of thinking and feeling. There are two things, however, that should ever be thought worthy of observation. The first is the character of the audience before whom the productions of these poets were performed. That they were a highly intelligent people is beyond all dispute. This fact is apparent, and taken for granted by the poets themselves. They lived in an age when there were no printing-presses and no sermons. Their temples, except the theatrical temple of Dionysis, were merely places for ceremonial observances; but the drama supplied the only means they enjoyed for lessons corrective of vice, and stimulating of virtue; as well as served the purpose of the popular educator, the political journal, and literary review. A people ignorant of printing can be other than barbarous. And these Athenians, though not in the main book-learned, evidently had made the best possible use of their eyes and ears. They were able to correct Orators who mis-pronounced a word; Singers, when out of tune; and Actors, who tripped in their delivery of dialogue. The dramatist assumes on their behalf not only a familiarity with

all that is good in the future of a mythological play, but with all the best scenes and points in the dramas of the great tragedians; an acquaintance with the political questions, and celebrities of the day; a knowledge and just estimate of the beauties of poetry; a comprehension of at least the salient points of allusion and parody—nobleness and meanness. On these grounds, we claim for these assemblies an intellectual calibre, and intellectual taste, equal, if not superior, to that of the modern pit and gallery. Secondly, the general sentiment of the dramas deserves attention. We cannot deny that many proofs might be forthcoming to show, that the Authors of these dramas often, willingly or unwillingly, pandered to the vulgar taste, and degraded the muse to the level of the streets, in order to catch a favourable verdict. We have, however, been more frequently amazed at the earnest and lofty representations they contain of doctrine and duty, which *we know* are pleasing to God and profitable to men. They taught men to be honest, sober, and chaste; to abstain from iniquity, and revere the gods. They chose, it is true, for their poetical subjects, detestable and notorious *crimes* of the heroic age, but they used them very differently from the French, and other authors of romances of wickedness in the present day. They never, by treacherous sympathy, beguiled the audience to become accomplices after the fact, nor by sophistical pleading palliated its hideousness. They never presented alluring pictures of sinful indulgence, or leers or whisperings of amorous wantonness. The adulteress and her paramour never give a hint on the stage of their nefarious intrigue. The punishment of crime is as conspicuous as it is terrible. The scandal of the sexes is lamented, but not paraded in a fascinating aspect. Take the following lines from Æschylus:—

> "For Jove doth teach men wisdom, sternly wins
> To virtue by the tutoring of our sins;
> Yea! drops of torturing recollection chill
> The sleeper's breast; 'gainst man's rebellious will
> Jove works the wise remorse;
> Dread powers, on awful seats enthroned, compel
> Our hearts with gracious force."

Or the following from Sophocles:—

> "Speak thou no word of pride, nor raise
> A swelling thought against the gods on high;
> For Time uplifteth and Time layeth low
> All human things; and the great gods above
> Abhor the wicked as the good they love.
> . . . . . .
> Be blameless in all duties towards the gods;
> For God the Father in compare with this
> Lightly esteemeth all things else; and so
> Thy righteousness shall with thee to the end
> Endure, and follow thee beyond the grave."

Or the following from Euripides: —

"With various hand the gods dispense our fates;
And showering various blessings, which our hopes
Dared not aspire to; now controlling ills
We deemed inevitable.

. . . . . .

It is not mine, a mortal born, to slight
The gods; nor with irreverent eye to scan
Their deity. The instructions of our fathers,
From earliest times delivered down, we hold;
No argument shall shake them, though devised
With all the subtlety of deepest thought.

. . . . . .

If there be
A man, whose impious pride contemns the gods,
Let him behold his death, and own their power."

Or the following counsels to youth from Aristophanes:—

"Cast in thy lot, O youth! with me, and choose the better paths—
So shalt thou hate the Forum's prate, and shun the lazy baths;
Be shamed for what is truly shame, and blush when shame is said,
And rise up from thy seat in hall before the hoary head.
Be duteous to thy parents, to no base act inclined,
But keep fair Honour's image deep within thine heart enshrined;
And speak no rude, irreverent word, against the father's years,
Whose strong hand led thine infant steps, and dried thy childhood's tears."

Such passages, to be found in the pages of our old friends, and by no means of rare occurrence, may help us to form some conception of the profit and instruction that were derived from their dramas by the Athenians; and especially attended by such a description of the actual stage as the following by Bulwer: "The immense theatre, crowded by thousands, one marble tier and bench above another, was open to the heavens, and commanded, from the sloping hill on which it was situated, both land and sea. The actor apostrophized no mimic pasteboard, but the wide expanse of nature herself,—the living sun, the mountain air, the wide and visible Ægean. All was proportionate to the gigantic scale of the theatre, and the mighty range of the audience; the form was artificially enlarged and heightened; the masks of exquisite art and beauty brought before the audience the ideal images of their sculptured gods and heroes; while, most probably, mechanical inventions carried the tones of the voice through the remotest tiers of the theatre. The sanctity of their origin, and the mythological nature of their stories, added something of religious solemnity to these spectacles, which were opened by ceremonial sacrifices." Taught by these masters, we would learn what it behoves ourselves to do and suffer; and receive, across the shifting ages, the agreement of their testimony to God, virtue and immortality.

Newcastle-on-Tyne. JAMES G. POTTER.

ART. III.—CHURCH REFORM.

THE most careless observer of the events from time to time taking place on every side cannot fail to perceive that society at large is heaving with excitement, and on the eve of tremendous changes. We are indeed cast upon eventful times; and on every side strange phenomena present themselves. Even in Old England the most hoary and long-respected usages, beliefs, opinions, and institutions are rocking to their foundations, and ready to fall. Old age may be sere and yellow as well as green. And, when the former is the case, "that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away; because of the weakness and unprofitableness thereof." That, indeed, is the fate of many things on earth which have been petted and cherished during the ages which are past. So it is with much in science, theology, politics, and philosophy.

Some of the most important changes now determined, or soon to take place, have reference to the ecclesiastical life of christendom. If we look abroad, great, but also very hopeful, changes are taking place. Twenty years ago none but the most far-seeing, on the one hand, or the most boldly prophetic on the other, could have ventured to predict what has recently occurred, or is on the eve of occurring. Advance and retrogression both take place. "The morning cometh, also the night." It is night with the Pope and his infatuated Church. The Roman Council, in its midnight gropings, has added rebellion to its crimes, has clapped its hands against God, has "exalted itself above all that is called God, and worshipped," has put its head and representative in the place of God, has finished its last daring, blasphemous insult to human reason, by accepting and proclaiming the dogma of Papal infallibility. By binding this greatest of all erratic assumptions on the conscience of the Popish Church, and by inveighing in fiery anathemas against all who dare to reject the impious order, Popery has bound itself in chains of darkness and adamant. But Rome and Italy, long groaning under the nightmare of Popery, have experienced a wonderful deliverance, and are full of new and active ecclesiastical life. The city of the seven hills has opened her gates to the entrance of religious freedom, and God's unfettered, holy Word.* The temporal tyranny of the Pope being destroyed—the warriors of France being recalled to encounter the triumphant march of United Germany, a new era of civil, ecclesiastical, and religious freedom has dawned. Protestantism has unfurled the banner of truth, and keeps it flying in the breeze right under the windows of the Vatican. The Eternal City is now the home of religious toleration and freedom.

*Even theological discussion now often takes place in Rome itself, and an *Italian Bible Society* has been formed.

Bavarian universities and Churches have also dared some measures of active reform. Led by the high-spirited, learned, and indomitable Dollinger; supported, encouraged and defended, by an enlightened king and Government, many of the ecclesiastics of Bavaria have peremptorily refused to submit to the impious imposition of the late infatuated Œcumenical Council, so called. They will not receive the dogma of the Pope's infallibility; nor will they submit to be gyved and gagged by the Pope's menials. Their king shall not be the vassal of a half-crazed old man, called, forsooth, the Father and Head of the Christian Church. Bavaria is a country and kingdom not to be chained at will to the car of Papal aggression.

The splendid revolution of Spain, though greatly marred by extravagances and excesses, as revolutions often have been, has opened a new era to that long-benighted and down-trodden people. Politically speaking, the advantages will be great and numerous; but we are viewing the matter from an ecclesiastical and religious stand-point. The whole of that beauteous land is freed from the tyrannies—political and religious—under which it has groaned for ages. Now, from the Bay of Biscay to the Straits of Gibraltar, from the Mediterranean to the lines of Portugal, freedom reigns. The Colonies belonging to the Spanish crown are also open to the entrance of Protestant activity, and the unadulterated truth of God. Those harbours of religious and moral abominations—the convents and monasteries—the holds of "every unclean and hateful bird," the strongholds of the tyrannous Inquisition, and the haunts of ecclesiastical corruption—have been opened to the unwelcome light of day, their monstrosities dragged out, and their power shattered. Spain is now emerging from the darkness and terror of Papal edicts, anathemas, and bulls. She is somewhat intoxicated and unsteady as yet—no wonder!—with liberties to which till erst she was a total stranger. But, when the effervescence of a strangely jubilant freedom subsides, the religious life of Spain shall, we opine, be upward thence.

France, long intoxicated by vanity, pride, and haughtiness, but blurred and rotten by Popery, infidelity, and sensualism, has passed through a fiery ordeal. It is difficult to divine what all the results will be; but one thing is about certain,—the true faith of Christians will have a more candid hearing and a fairer field of action. The mildew spread over that beautiful land by Voltaire, Condillac, Renan, and others, will be counteracted, and its ravages cured by the fresh air and pure light of Protestant truth. Popery will infallibly produce, as a revulsion of the human mind against its prodigious falsehoods and absurdities, a stark, staring, gross infidelity. Protestant Christianity will as uniformly and certainly produce an intelligent, active, and beneficent faith;—"full of good works, with-

out hypocrisy." Now that the Papal power in France is despoiled of its temporal or civil support, free religious thought, enquiry, and activity, will be enjoyed in the cities and provinces of that beautiful land.

Returning home to Great Britain, we see the tide of truth and righteousness advancing. The Irish Church has been really disestablished and nominally disendowed. The stern Augustinianism of Scottish history is yielding to the breath—milder and more genial—of a soft and warm Arminian spring. The wintry, ice-bound "Confession" is destined to modification or decay, and a truer Gospel creed will eventually supply its place. "The Elementary Education Act" for England and Wales, with its faults and virtues, has become law. We, however, hope and trust that it is destined to modification; and, especially, that those clauses in which the engines of denominationalism can even now work with such deadly precision and partiality, will be obliterated from the statute book by a more truly liberal policy. Pity it is that so great and benign a measure has been marred by these blots of religious favoritism. The present otherwise excellent and powerful Government has laid itself open to suspicion and the danger of disruption by the denominational clauses of this Act. Earnest remonstrances were put forth at the passing of the Act, and have been repeated since by Nonconformists in and out of the House. Yet thus far all in vain. The Government has passed a denominational Educational Act for Scotland, which may be followed by one for Ireland, and that country handed over for its education to a Romish priesthood. Will the Gladstone Ministry thus commit suicide, and seal its doom? Time will show.

But the one great ecclesiastical question of the immediate future is the disestablishment of the English Church. We now stand face to face with this great question. It is undoubtedly a grave and important one; but, is it right? Is it necessary? Is it expedient? Is it feasible? Is it urgent? Should it be entertained? To all these, and such like questions, the friends of the Anglican Church give a decisive, prompt, disdainful negative! It is possible, no doubt, to make considerable show of reason for such a stern negation. But, as British Christian citizens, we claim the right to discuss this question in some of its bearings, at least.

The public mind of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, has been turned to this question a long time; but more intensely so the last twenty or thirty years. "The Society for the Liberation of the Church from State Patronage and Control" has pursued its labours in an intelligent and energetic manner. The various phases of the question now before us have been discussed at length in the pulpit, on the platform, and by the press. An extensive *and able* Literature on State-Churches, has been created and

widely circulated; it has been read with keen relish by a discerning and appreciative public; so the public mind is almost made up on this question. The Anglican Church itself is in a state of notorious unquiet and troublesome ferment. Well-defined parties are marshalled under their respective leaders; and many of the most consistent members of her communion begin to feel that there must be reform or inevitable disruption will ensue. The propositions submitted, and insisted on, are as various and multitudinous as can well be imagined. The High Church, or ritualistic members, are prepared for disestablishment, so that they may gratify to the full their Popish proclivities. The Broad Church, rationalistic communicants, are advocating a policy of comprehension, to include all sorts of persons, and all sorts of creeds,—to embrace Romanists at one end and Rationalists at the other; thus affording scope for Sacramentarianism, Unitarianism, Calvinism, Universalism, and Secularism all full-blown together. What sort of a hotch-potch mess such a Church must be, can, we think, scarcely be imagined. The Evangelicals cry aloud for Reform! For a time reform may prevent revolution; but we hope to show that the essential principles of a Church established by law are wrong, especially when tested by Holy Scripture; so that this being proved, no system of reform which leaves the Church connected with the State will effectually amend and permanently secure the Church of England.

The Rev. J. C. Ryle, a well-known leading Evangelical, has taken up this reform question, and discussed it from an exclusively Church-and-State stand-point.* While there is much that merits commendation, Mr. Ryle speaks of Dissenters in a style which is surprising and reprehensible. He generally puts them in a batch with Secularists. Apart from such matters as this, his utterances and spirit are suited to his well-earned reputation, as a hard-working Vicar, Dean, and Author. We wish, however, to discuss measures rather than men.

In the first paper on "Our Dioceses and Bishops," Mr. Ryle calls attention to the dangers to which the Established Church is —according to his opinion—exposed. The sources of danger are the undying enmity of the Church of Rome, the unreasonable(?) dislike of the bulk of English and Scotch Dissenters, the alarming progress of infidelity, the wide-spread alienation of our working men in large towns, the evident political tendencies of leading Statesmen, the internal divisions of the Establishment itself, the growing indifference of scores of the best Churchmen, and the utter want of organization in the Church established by law. It is not our purpose, just now, to inquire into the reality of these

* "Church Reform. Being Seven Papers on the Subject." London: W. Hunt, & Co., 1871.

dangers, or to discuss the measures suggested for their counteraction and removal; but, we stay to give them a passing remark or two.

We observe that if the Church, as by law established, be founded on right religious and ecclesiastical principles, it cannot really be in danger. This, we think, is just the pivot on which the whole question turns; and, in our opinion, it is just the weak point of the Churchman's case. If the Anglican Church is one with Christianity, it is not in danger at all; and the oft-repeated cry, "the Church is in danger," is groundless and absurd. Truly, the Establishment may be in danger, but Christianity and the Church of Christ are no more in danger than the heavens are in danger. Even as an establishment, the Anglican Church need not fear all that Rome can do, if there were not so many points of connection, adhesion, or affinity between the Churches of Rome and England. Get rid of these,—"purge out the old leaven" of Popery from the Anglican Church, and then we shall hear of apprehended dangers from Rome, among Churchmen, as seldom as we now do among the Free Churches of our land. As for Infidelity, what has it ever done effectually against THE CHURCH of Christ? What can it ever do? The very establishment which manufactures perverts for the Papacy also makes up ready-made clothes for the infidel camp! At one extreme it points to "Rome *via* Oxford," at the other to Infidelity *via* Rationalism! As to the working classes, how is it they are so alien? Primitive Methodism is noted for having above 160,000 godly men, all from the working classes. Other Dissenting churches have a large centage of the working-class element of membership. How is it that this politico-ecclesiastical organization, whose purblind devotees and worldly clergymen delight to exhibit an exclusiveness at once false, offensive, and proud—the Church cannot get hold of the popular element of Britain? This Church has immense advantage over others. She has traditions, history, legislation, prestige, wealth, talent, learning, and royal patronage in her favour; she has mitred representatives in the highest senate-house of the realm, and the keys of universities, belonging to the nation, hanging at her side; and yet she cannot compete with the scouted and persecuted Nonconformist Churches for popular favour! If the words of Christ will apply to this case—why should they not?—"Where much is given much shall be required;" and, "To him that hath shall be given; and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." As for dangers threatened from Dissenters, they need not be feared, if, as Mr. Ryle says, their dislike is "unreasonable." No doubt disestablishment and disendowment are awfully ominous words to interested partisans; but the indirect influence of Dissenters in Britain has done more to prevent rottenness and stimulate life, even in the Established Church of

England, than all things else; and any amount of "unreasonable dislike" on their part can only at last revert on their own heads. But the strength of English dissent just lies in the *reasonableness* of its demands, and the *un*reasonableness of their refusal. As for leading statesmen, their predilections and prejudices are strongly tinctured with establishmentarianism: and, without doubt, they will defend the vested interests of their own families and favourites as long as there is a foot of solid ground to stand on.

But, no doubt, there is real danger to the Church, as established by law, in her internal divisions, the "*growing* indifference" of scores of the "*best* Churchmen," and the want of Church organization. But while there may be a just apprehension of danger on those grounds, we opine, that if facts were quite the contrary, and therefore in every sense favourable to the Anglican Church, as a religious and political establishment, yet the very principles of State-Churchism are so anti-scriptural and pernicious, they must in time inevitably result in disruption. But more of this anon.

Mr. Ryle's tractate on Church Reform affords—from a Churchman's point of view—an interesting discussion of plans and suggestions by which the English Church is to be saved from avowed foes and false friends. Dioceses are too large, it says; they must be divided and subdivided. No one English diocese is to exceed one county; and large counties like Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Middlesex are to form at least three or four dioceses each. The bishops, as a body, are to be relegated from the House of Lords; but four or five are to be elected, by some means, and sit as representatives in that august assembly. The too autocratic power of bishops is to be curtailed; as, in many cases now, an English bishop is as irresponsible as a Russian Czar. And as the bishoprics are to be divided, so are their princely revenues. Instead of £5,000, as now, each bishop is to have, say, £2,000, with an extra £1,000 for the more favoured ones, who "leave the Word of God to serve tables," by sitting in Parliament. Further, instead of the bishops being nominated and appointed by the Prime Minister, with a view to political purposes, as now, the clergy of a diocese are to nominate three for a vacancy, and the Crown to choose one, which selection shall be final. Mr. Ryle next reviews the matter of Convocation, in which he discovers a number of defects, and advocates what he, of course, believes to be very valuable reforms. He complains of the Convocation being completely divided into two bodies—southern and northern—the Convocation of Canterbury and the Convocation of York. Our Reformer thinks the composition defective. "It provides," says he, "a most ridiculously unfair representation of the parochial clergy. Let us take, for example, the Lower House of Convocation, in the province of Canterbury, and analyze its composition. It consists of 145 members. Of these 145 no less than

23 are deans, 56 are archdeacons, 24 are proctors for the cathedral chapters, and only 42 are proctors for the parochial clergy. In a word, this Lower House contains 103 *ex-officio* members and representatives of capitular bodies to 42 representatives of the parochial clergy!" (Query: How many representatives have the people?) "Such a state of things," continues Mr. Ryle, "is simply ludicrous, preposterous, and contrary to common sense. How such a body as this can ever meet and talk as if it represented the whole southern province of the Church of England, passes my understanding. It reminds one of those three famous artificers in Tooley Street who, in the plenitude of self-satisfaction, put forth an address beginning, 'We, the people of England!'" Mr. Ryle mentions another fault, which we take to be the gravest of all three. He says: "Convocation as it is makes no provision for the representation of the lay members of the Church of England." This is a true, but grave and heavy charge. How the laity of the English Establishment can endure this, while their brethren over St. George's Channel are represented in Convocation, through the disestablishment and reconstruction of the Irish Church — that is, the Church of England in Ireland—surpasses our comprehension. To mend the Convocation, however, Mr. Ryle suggests the fusing of the two Convocations of York and Canterbury into one, the relegation of all *ex-officio* members; as deans are nominees of the Crown, so, also, generally, the canons. Archdeacons are nominees of the bishops, and bishops nominees of the prime ministers. According to this all laymen and clergymen are left without any real representation. Anyone may see what are the chances of 42 proctors for the parochial clergy against 103 *ex-officio* members, who are, in fact, simply nominees of the Crown, even if the 42 proctors truly represented the clergy, which we opine is the exception rather than the rule; the chances of laymen are—*nothing*. Mr. Ryle would have each properly reduced diocese to send three representatives, duly elected by the clergy, with power to represent minorities by means of the cumulative vote. Then at least an equal number, or even more than equal number, of lay Churchmen, to be elected in the same way as the clerical representatives. He would allow a vote to every man "who would declare publicly that he is a Churchman, and that he attends habitually some Church of England place of worship." Then, Mr. Ryle would have bishops, clergy, and laity all sit in one house, to abolish the endless squabbles between the Upper and Lower House of Convocation. Cathedral Reform comes on next. In opening this part of the question, Mr. Ryle distinguishes between the beautiful *theory* of cathedral establishments and the actual *facts* of the case. He tells us that for three centuries deans have been selected without consideration of their qualifications as mere political nominees; or have been put into comfortable sinecures, as

pets of prime ministers, on principles of sheer favouritism; that people expect work of bishops, but when a dean *does* work, everybody rubs his eyes, is astonished, amazed, delighted, and surprised. A sensation is felt like that of discovering a new pleasure. We are assured that canons never enter office in connection with cathedrals with any idea of work. The clergyman who holds a stall in the cathedral usually holds a parochial benefice as well, and the three months "residence" are simply three months of visiting; so that when the witty Sydney Smith was asked to define the duties of deans and chapters, he is reported to have said: "To the best of my knowledge, the duty of the dean is to give dinners to the chapter, and the duty of the chapter is to give dinners to the dean." It is declared by Mr. Ryle that the cathedral body is no help to the bishops, who would do work if allowed; but the dean is often a thorn in the bishop's side, and the canons a hindrance, a wet blanket, a stumbling-block, chilling the bishop's ardour and obstructing his efforts. Nor is the worship of a cathedral allowed to pass muster unchallenged. "It is cold, chilling, dull, slovenly, and irreverent." The music may be good, you may hear excellent voices in the choir; but there is nothing to feed the mind, to warm the heart, to stir the conscience, or to comfort the troubled. The last place to go to for spiritual help and blessing is a cathedral. In the language of another, the cathedral service is—

"Faultily faultless, icily regular, splendidly dull."

These imposing cathedrals are useless in working the dioceses to which they belong. If a bishop wishes to promote education, foreign missions, to evangelise the overgrown parishes, or help the overworked clergy in mining and manufacturing districts, or large towns and cities, the last place to look for help—with but very few rare and bright exceptions—is the cathedral. These establishments have done no good worth mention in cathedral towns, even. Mr. Ryle, true to his establishmentarian prejudices, exclaims, "In none is there so much bitter nonconformity!" This, of course, is sufficient evidence to him that the cathedral is "a huge ecclesiastical machine," which has been built and sustained at immense expense, but proves a failure, and will not work. Even the interests of theology have the smallest possible benefit from the cathedral. A brilliant exception now and then, but very seldom occurs,—books from cathedral closes being the exception, not the rule; and, anxious eyes looking for confusion in the enemy's ranks, or edification in the church, turn in vain to the cathedral. Out of hundreds of deans and canons, during the past three centuries, few indeed have distinguished themselves in works of doctrine, criticism, history, exegesis, or controversy. To get rid of all these evils, Mr. Ryle suggests that the offices of dean and canon, as they fall vacant, should cease altogether, that

every bishop who has a cathedral in his diocese ought to be the dean, the head, the chief, the sole manager and superintendent of his own cathedral; and, in lieu of the canons, each bishop, when he becomes a dean, should appoint two chaplains to carry on the worship of the cathedral, who should hold office during his life, just like curates, and no longer. The two chaplain-canons ought to have, he thinks, £750 a-year, with a residence, having no other benefice or cure—so that, under the bishop's direction, all their energies shall be given to the cathedral. To assist these two canons, or senior chaplains, Mr. Ryle would have two minor chaplains, with residences and £300 per year; the bishop to have the deanery as his residence, and the present episcopal palaces to be sold. These arrangements, supplemented by picked organists, singers, and choristers, are to make cathedral worship and usefulness, all in reality, what they are now simply in theory. Our reformer thinks much revenue would be saved by these changes, which he would appropriate to the increase of all the small livings in the cathedral city; the pensioning off of aged and superannuated ministers of small livings; and, if a surplus still remain after this, let it be applied to meet the expenses of increasing the episcopate.

The next branch of reform contemplated and urged by Mr. Ryle is about the public worship and religious services of the Church of England. Here, as it seems to us, Mr. Ryle's movements, as an Anglican Evangelist, are very awkward and halting. The Book of Common Prayer is by no means unsound or Popish, when rightly interpreted!* He has no idea—far from it—of substituting extemporaneous prayer for the Liturgy! He cannot go so far as to give clergymen the *liberty* of using or not using it! This, says he, "is a dangerous liberty." We may well ask, why? Because, "Romish" or "Sceptical" clergymen would thus have an open door for the intrusion of their crotchets and proclivities! "I dread the consequences of such liberty," says Mr. Ryle. "With all my desire to see our public worship reformed, I do not want to see anything allowed in our reading-desks except the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer." Nor even can he do with liturgical revision! Why so? "A royal commission for liturgical revision would include Ritualists and Neologians as well as Evangelicals. From such a commission I should expect nothing but evil. It would do more harm than good, if it did anything at all. In short—"I would rather bear the ills I know, than flee to others that I know not of." Having thus told us what he does *not* want, our reformer proceeds to let us know what he *does* require. These are, division, abbreviation, and simplification of the Liturgy. The services for morning, afternoon, and evening are all too long. A good many prayers, collects, four or five psalms, two chapters of

* *The idea of a book of Common Prayer needing to be interpreted!*

Scripture, the Litany, Communion Service, and a sermon, are too much of a good thing for morning and evening. The afternoon service should be so shortened as to accommodate rural congregations, many of whom have bad roads, long journeys, agricultural duties, and domestic calls to attend to. The Baptismal and Lord's Supper services are to be shortened and re-arranged, and all possibility of vagueness, uncertainty, debate, and equivocation prevented. Divine service is to be encouraged in *un*-consecrated places used for the Church of England by law established. "If Church of England worship will not keep pace with the times the Church will be left behind in the race, and the Nonconformists and Nothingarians will fill up the ground." To those who cry, "The Prayer Book, the whole Prayer Book, and nothing but the Prayer Book," Mr. Ryle replies, that there is an *a priori* probability that a Prayer Book compiled 300 years ago will be unsuited to the times now present; that the preface to the Prayer Book contemplates and provides for alterations; and that thousands stand aloof from this Establishment because her Prayer Book and religious services are not popular. "Vast multitudes of our people," says he, "stand aloof from the Established Church, and will have nothing to do with her. An incessant effort is made by Infidels, Sceptics, Papists, and Secularists as well as by Nonconformists of all kinds, to get hold of these people. Shall the Church of England alone stand still and attempt no reform?" Such are some of Mr. Ryle's replies. But he asks them if St. Paul, could he revisit this world, would insist on every jot and tittle of the Prayer Book? We trow not! In this, at least, we believe Mr. Ryle to be unanswerable. As also in the next arguments with which he thrusts the Anti-Revisionists—that the Bible does not command the exclusive use of a Liturgy; and that men like Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Bengel, Chalmers, M'Cheyne, Judson, and others "have been mighty Christians without a Liturgy." We doubt not very far mightier than with one! Mr. Ryle confesses all this, but protests against both liberty and revision.

The next paper (No. V.) is on "The Ministerial Office as it exists in the Church of England." This subject is not less prolific than important; but being anxious for the present that Mr. Ryle should be fully represented, we reserve our own remarks, and proceed to give an account of the author's remaining utterances. The present arrangements for bishops, priests, and deacons, being made, are not to be destroyed, but the ministerial system is to be made more elastic and popular by certain additions. The Church is to be made to afford increased facilities for young men desirous of obtaining office as her ministers. Young men are to be fetched up earlier and further from the people's ranks. Instead of being kept out of orders till twenty-three and twenty-four years of

age, they are to be permitted to exercise holy functions as soon as suitably qualified and approved. They are not to be required to know Latin and Greek as a *sine qua non* of ministerial office. The Church of England is advised to revive the office of sub-deacon, as an essential part of her system; the sub-deaconate to be open to anyone over twenty who can evince to a bishop that he has a sound English education, has a right heart, a good character, knows his Bible, and is "apt to teach." Mr. Ryle reminds his readers that such men have been immensely useful among dissenting churches, and would be in the Anglican Establishment. Further, and more systematic popular efforts are to be put forth, to reach and save the masses. Extra-parochial measures are to supplement the more efficient and vigorous working of the parochial system. From a bigoted churchman's standpoint, things look very dark as depicted by Mr. Ryle. He says: "It is nonsense to deny that there are scores of large parishes in almost every diocese in England where the parochial clergyman does little or nothing besides a cold formal round of Sunday services. Christ's truth is not preached—soul-work is neglected. The parishioners are like sheep without a shepherd. The bulk of people never come near the church. Sin, and immorality, and ignorance, and infidelity increase and multiply every year. The few who worship anywhere, take refuge in the chapels of Methodists, Baptists, and Independents, if not in more questionable places of worship." Alas! for us poor outcast Dissenters! Our chapels are "*questionable places.*" But what a mercy of God, that while the parish parson is in very much "MORE *questionable*" places, the Nonconformist ministers and their lay-helpers are out and about, blessed be God! seeking and saving those who are lost. It is a pity indeed that the cantish Evangelicalism of Mr. Ryle and his co-Evangelicals, has not yet taught them that the chapels of Methodists, Baptists, and Independents, are *un*questionable places; and that Christian Dissenters—true to Protestantism and the gospel—ought not to be classed with Infidels, Socinians, Papists, and Nothingarians for ever. As Nonconformist Christians, we ask for no charity at the hands of insolent clergymen, be they Evangelical, Ritualistic, or Rationalistic; but, in the name of truth and justice, we demand what reason is there for our perpetual relegation to such classes of the community as the above? The evangelicals either know, or ought to know, that Methodists, Baptists, and Independents, have done more than all Establishmentarians put together to counteract and destroy Infidelity, Socinianism, Secularism, and Popery; and yet, in the plenitude of self-sufficiency and evangelical charity, so called, they persistently associate us with the evils we destroy.

But let Mr. Ryle tell his own tale. He continues: "The parish church is comparatively deserted. People in such parishes live and die with an abiding impression that the Church of England is a rotten, useless institution, and bequeath to their families a legacy of prejudice against the Church which lasts for ever. Will any one pretend to tell me that there are not hundreds of large English parishes in this condition? I defy him to do so. I am writing down things that are only too true, and it is vain to pretend to conceal them.

"But what does the Church of England do for such parishes as these? I answer, *nothing; nothing at all!* It is precisely here that our system fails and breaks down altogether. So long as the parochial minister does his duty up to the bare letter of legal requirement, it is a ruled point, both in theory and in practice, and a matter of ecclesiastical etiquette, that nobody must interfere with him. His people may be perishing for lack of knowledge. Infidels, Socinians, and Papists may be going to and fro and beguiling unstable souls. Dissenters of all sorts may be building chapels and filling them with the families of aggrieved and neglected Churchmen. The children of the Church may be drawn away from her every year by scores. But no matter; the Church cannot interfere! The Church of England looks on with folded arms, and does nothing at all. Can any one imagine a more ruinous system? Can any one wonder that some irritated and disgusted Churchmen become Dissenters, and that others despise and loathe the Church which allows such a state of things to go on? Can any one feel surprised if the inhabitants of such parishes complain bitterly that they are left without remedy until their parson is either converted or dead?"

Such is Mr. Ryle's description of the establishment which prides itself as being "*the Church*,"—*the* Church of *England!*" This Church has made an idol of her parochial system which Mr. Ryle is prepared to invade. He would allow one clergyman to enter the "enclosed preserve" of another who is negligent. A neglected parish is at present like a keyless Bramah lock, and cannot be picked. Like the Englishman's house, it is the incumbent's castle, and nobody can enter it to do good except a Dissenter! It was a common joke of O'Connell's that a certain Irish town had over its gates the inscription, "Jew, Turk, and Atheist may enter, but not a Papist." I fear that the case of a neglected English parish is somewhat parallel. You may write over its boundaries, "Infidels, Papists, and Dissenters may enter here, and do what they like, but not a Churchman. If this is not a blot in our ecclesiastical system I know not what is. It is an abuse that cries to heaven against the Church of England, and it ought to be redressed. Here, if anywhere, there is a need of reform."

To remedy such a state of affairs our Reformer would have the Church boldly call into existence a new class of ministers to be called Evangelists, or some such name. He thinks that while some may object to this measure as un-scriptural, it is quite as defensible on scriptural grounds as parishes, dioceses, rural deaneries, rectors, vicars, archdeacons, and rural deans; that it is sanctioned by precedent; that such men may be got; that instead of breaking up the parochial system, it would stimulate both clergy and laity, and preserve the latter from being carried off by Dissenters and Plymouth Brethren; that the bishop of each diocese with his council might manage all the affairs connected with the movement. A great reform should be effected in the preaching of Church of England ministers to make their sermons striking, original, and effective. More effective checks ought to be provided against the admission of unfit persons into the Church's ministry, as well as effective means of ejecting unworthy ones from their emoluments and cures.

In the sixth paper, our author proceeds to discuss in a more fervent manner the "Position of the Laity," meaning the *people* of the Church as distinguished from the clergy. He ascertains the position held by laymen as "Brethren"—"the Church" "saints"—"the faithful brethren," in New Testament Churches; then shows that in the establishment laymen "have comparatively no place at all!" In the solemn conclave of bishops, at Lambeth Palace, in Convocation, in ruri-decanal synods, in filling up vacant livings or incumbencies, the laity have no part. This anomalous state of things is traced back to the imperfections of English Reformers and the Reformation, and pronounced "a rag and remnant of Popery." Consequently, the laymen have no rights, exercise no power, exert no influence, and care very little about the Church itself. To mend this state of things, Mr. Ryle would allow no conclave of Anglican bishops, no English convocation, no diocesan government, no ruri-decanal Synod, no parochial management, no appointment to a cure of souls, no system of ecclesiastical discipline, without the presence and decision of suitable laymen. The sale of livings receives the unmitigated condemnation which it deserves; as for diocesan synods, they are impracticable shams as the Established Church is at present constituted.

In the seventh, and last paper, Mr. Ryle sums up his whole subject, and suggests a number of practical conclusions. He combats the views of those who think reform is not needed, or is impracticable, or is downright wrong, or positively dangerous. Then Churchmen are told to expect nothing from their bishops, next to nothing from Convocation, from the parochial clergy, as a body, or the House of Commons. The individual efforts of Church reformers

are, under God, to effect the change by informing and agitating the public mind. He concludes with a loud, sorrowful wail about the low standard of ministerial holiness and decision in general, the seemingly endless estrangement of good men from one another, and the wide-spread apathy and indifference, which prevail among lay Churchmen, about the future of all ecclesiastical questions.

A. C.

[This trenchant article should be read in connection with another on "Church Establishments," from the pen of the same author, in our August number for 1872.—EDITOR.]

ART. IV.—STANLEY'S DISCOVERY OF LIVINGSTONE.

"*How I Found Livingstone*:" Travels, Adventures, and Discoveries in Central Africa. Including four months' residence with Dr. Livingstone. By HENRY M. STANLEY. London: Sampson Low, and Co. 1872.

IF this is not a sensational book, its appearance has produced a greater sensation in the reading world than any work from the press for several years. An edition of 5,000 copies was sold at once, and a second and larger edition was issued a fortnight after. It does not fall to the lot of many men to rise to such fame and achieve such success by a stroke, as has been the fortune of Mr. Stanley. It is not long since any of us who compose the bulk of the people knew that there was such a man; and now his name is on every lip, and his brilliant exploits are the theme of universal admiration. He quietly did what others, who had many trumpets sounded about them, failed to do. He opened communications with the grand, sturdy, heroic Scotchman, whose fate Christendom was interested in. Four parties were despatched to Livingstone's relief, viz., in 1867, 1868, 1869, and 1870. Not an article taken by these expeditions ever reached the veteran explorer, save a few of the supplies sent in 1869. We cannot give the particulars of these failures; we only note the fact. While Mr. Stanley was unknown to the outside world, he was known to those who were privileged to go behind the scenes as an adventurous and successful caterer for the *New York Herald* in the American war. It was to the courtesy of this same correspondent that the press and the public of this country were indebted for the news that Colonel Penn had captured Magdala, the capital of Abyssinia, destroyed King Theodore, and liberated the prisoners. He also witnessed the

most stirring scenes in the Cretan Rebellion and the Persian war, and had, in addition, traversed the regions of the Caucasus. So that, though he was young, he had seen much of the world, and was well versed in the "art of travel." This experience was of much service to him in this his greatest expedition. It made him cautious not to cumber himself with wrong things, and with too many attendants; it also made him careful in the selection of his men.

There is an air of romance about the manner in which the enterprise originated. We give his own words:—"My duty led me to fields of journalism—my duty carried me far away from Central Africa. If ever I have dreamed that I should visit the heart of Africa, I should have smiled at myself. Now, while I was following my duties at Madrid, I received a telegram to come to Paris on important business. I went, and found Mr. James Bennett, the proprietor of the *New York Herald*, in bed. I knocked at his door. He said, 'Come in,' and then demanded my name. I said, 'My name is Stanley.' 'Oh, you are the man I want. Do you know where Livingstone is?' I said 'I declare I do not.' 'Do you suppose he is alive?' 'I really don't know.' 'What do you think of it?' I replied, 'It passes my comprehension.' 'Well, I think that he is alive; and I want you to go and find him.' I thought it a most gigantic task, but dared not say, 'No.' I answered, 'If you send me to Central Africa, I shall go.' 'Well, go; I believe he is alive, and you can find him.' I said, 'Mr. Bennett, have you the least idea how much this little journey will cost? The Burton and Speke expedition cost between £2,000 and £4,000. Are you ready to incur that cost?' Mr. Bennett responded, 'Draw £1,000, and when that is finished draw another £1,000, and when that is got rid of, draw another, and another.' When I was in such a position, what was I to do? I saw that he was resolved that I should go and find Dr. Livingstone, and I went. He would take no apologies or excuses, so I said: 'What is open to poor human nature to do, I will do. I bid you good-night, but FIND LIVINGSTONE.' He added: 'Take sufficient; the old man may be short of supplies.' Before I started on my journey, I had to give a description of the opening of the Suez Canal; and then I had to visit the vast Temple of Solomon, under ground; then I had other duties to perform at the Dead Sea, Bagdad, and the proposed Euphrates Valley Railway. A pretty extensive tour this." But extensive as our author's travels were before, this successful undertaking has not only won for him the prize of the gold medal of the Geographical Society, but a place among the list of African explorers and travellers; and these names form a brilliant gallaxy—Bruce, Burckardt, Clapperton, Mungo Park, Speke, Grant, Burton, Baker, and last, and greatest of all,

Livingstone. Now the name of Stanley will have to be added to the illustrious roll. We cannot say that this work of travel equals in interest the simple graphic narrative of Mungo Park, the perusal of which entranced our boyhood. Nor in classic culture does it equal Sir S. Baker's "Albert Nyanza." Both of these were masterpieces of their kind. When we say that Mr. Stanley is an American of Americans, our readers will understand the kind of writing found in this work. He takes, with surprising audacity and *sang-froid*, all sorts of liberties with the Queen's English. He uses the greatest license, too, in the coinage of new terms and phrases. The jaunty, interviewing tone in which he describes certain well-known persons; the ease, confidence, and self-assertion of his air in dashing off pictures of African scenery and landscapes, is in true Transatlantic fashion. We do not suggest, as one authority has done, that he has written good American, but bad English. The personality of the writer is constantly obtruded upon the reader, and he is as demonstrative as a school-boy. The description of Bishop Tozer is racy, and may be true enough, but still questionable in taste. The good bishop is sarcastically drawn "in his crimson robes, and with his title;" and the writer says: "It is the most ridiculous sight I have seen anywhere outside a clown show." The following account of Dr. Kirk interested us, we confess, but afterwards we thought it was hardly fair to so eminent a man as our Consul at Zanzibar. He says:—"On the second morning after my arrival at Zanzibar, according to the demands of Zanzibar etiquette, the American Consul and myself allied out into the street, and in a few moments I was in the presence of this much-befamed man. To a man of rather slim figure, dressed plainly, slightly round-shouldered, hair black, face thin, cheeks rather sunk and bearded, Captain Webb said: 'Dr. Kirk, permit me to introduce Mr. Stanley, of the *New York Herald*.'

"I fancied at the moment that he lifted his eyelids perceptibly, disclosing the full circle of the eyes. If I were to define such a look, I would call it a broad stare. During the conversation, which ranged over several subjects, through watching his face intently, I never saw it kindle or become animated but once, and that was while relating some of his hunting feats to us. As the subject nearest my heart was not entered upon, I promised myself I would ask him about Dr. Livingstone the next time I called upon him.

"Tuesday evenings 'Dr. and Mrs. Kirk are at home' Zanzibarites are informed. The pleasures of those evenings the civilised community of Zanzibar generally ignore, but the representatives of the European colony do visit them nevertheless. This special evening there was quite a 'sprinkling' of the upper-ten-dom, an entertainment consisting of a kind of mild wine and cigars; not

because they have nothing else in the house, no decoction of bohea or hyson, with a few cakes, but because I suppose its the normal and accustomed habit of a free Zanzibarised European to indulge in something of the sort, mixed with a little soda-water as a stimulant to the bits of refined gossip generally promulgated under the vinous influence to sympathising, interested, and eager listeners.

"It was all very fine, I dare say, but I thought it was the dreariest evening I ever passed, until Dr. Kirk, pitying the wearisomeness under which I was labouring, called me aside to submit to my inspection a magnificent elephant rifle, which he said was a present from a Governor of Bombay. Then I heard eulogies upon its deadly powers and its fatal accuracy: I heard anecdotes of jungle life, adventures experienced while hunting, and incidents of his travels with Livingstone.

"'Ah, yes, Dr. Kirk.' I asked carelessly, about Livingstone—'where is he, do you think, now?'

"'Well, really,' he replied, 'you know that is very difficult to answer; he may be dead; there is nothing positive whereon we can base sufficient reliance. Of one thing I am sure, nobody has heard anything definite of him for over two years. I should fancy, though, he must be alive. We are continually sending something up for him. There is a small expedition even now at Bagamoyo about starting shortly. I really think the old man should come home now; he is growing old, you know, and if he died the world would lose the benefit of his discoveries. He keeps neither notes nor journals; it is very seldom he takes observations; he simply makes a note or dot, or something, on a map, which nobody could understand but himself. O, yes, by all means if he is alive he should come home, and let a younger man take his place.'

"'What kind of a man is he to get along with, Doctor?' I asked, feeling now quite interested in his conversation.

"'Well, I think he is a very difficult man to deal with generally. Personally, I have never had a quarrel with him, but I have seen him in hot water with fellows so often, and that is principally the reason, I think, he hates to have any one with him.'

"'I am told he is a very modest man; is he?' I asked.

"'Oh, he knows the value of his own discoveries; no man better. He is quite an angel,' said he, with a laugh.

"'Well, now, supposing I met him in my travels—I might possibly stumble across him if he travels anywhere in the direction I am going—how would he conduct himself towards me?'

"'To tell you the truth,' said he, 'I do not think he would like it very well. I know if Burton, or Grant, or Baker, or any of those fellows were going after him, and he heard of their coming, Livingstone would put a hundred miles of swamp in a very short time between himself and them. I do, upon my word, I do.'

"This was the tenor of the interview I held with Dr. Kirk, former companion of Livingstone, as well as my memory can recall it to me.

"Need I say this information, from a gentleman known to be well acquainted with Dr. Livingstone, rather had the effect of damping my ardour for the search than adding vigour to it.

"Dr. Kirk very kindly promised to give all the assistance in his power, and whatever experience he possessed he was willing, he said, to give me its full benefit. But I cannot recollect, neither do I find a trace of it in my journal, that he assisted me in any way."

The island of Zanzibar Mr. Stanley hits off in happy phrase as "the Bagdad, the Ispahan, the Stamboul, if you like, of East Africa." He speaks glowingly of the groves of cocoa nut, mango, clove, and cinnamon; but speaks contemptuously of its "whitewashed city." The information he gives is so full and graphically related that, after reading these pages, we feel as if we had been there with the traveller.

Though we have had much of the material of this volume before us for some months in the despatches to the *New York Herald*, the Livingstone despatches to the Foreign Office, and Mr. Stanley's many lectures and addresses, yet it is right to say that there are many important things given to the world for the first time in the work, the familiar facts have a new setting, and all the events are invested with great freshness. There are some fine specimens of the sketching and graphic art. The maps form one of the most interesting and valuable features of the work. The first and principal map is based upon the well-known map of Speke. The additions consist of two new routes beyond Unyanyembe, the showing of the exact form of the eastern end of Lake Tanganyika with the course of the river Rusizi, with the names of rivers, tribes, and parts of the country around that part of Tanganyika. The second map points out these discoveries more fully and more in detail; and they show the theatre of Mr. Stanley's African discoveries. The third map contains the bone of contention, *i.e.*, Dr. Livingstone's hypothesis, which Mr. Stanley adopts, that the Lualaba is connected with the Nile. Rawlinson, Burton, and the rest of the *savants* of Saville Row, say that this Lacustrine river is identified with the Congo, and they say that Livingstone must be contented with the secondary honour of having traced the upper course of the river Congo, which is called by the natives emphatically, "The Great River." Stanley, however, champions the side of his hero, and asks if it is not more likely that Livingstone should know better than the "easy-chair" geographers at home. "I am sure," he says, "that when Livingstone returns, two years hence, and says, 'I have discovered the sources of the

Nile,' there will not be one recalcitrant voice saying, 'You have not.' Rawlinson and the home geographers say that the Doctor, in his African solitude, had no knowledge of Schweinfurth's discoveries at the head of the Lualaba, and of the comparison of measurement, volume of water, periodical rains, and the rise of rivers—all calculated by a German *savant* (Dr. Behm), which go far to prove that the Lualaba is identical with the Congo. If success attends the "Livingstone Congo Expedition," now ready to commence the work under Lieutenant Cameron, this moot question will soon be decided.

We return to Mr. Stanley's story as to how he found Livingstone. The collecting and organising men and means for a march into Central Africa was a work which tasked his fertile and ready mind. How much money; how much impedimenta; how many porters, or pagazis; how many soldiers; how much cloth, beads, and wire, and what kinds and colours for different tribes? These were questions upon which the safety and success of the expedition depended. Difficult as the matters were to decide, the result proved his calculations to have been singularly accurate. He not only did not run short of anything, but such a contingency never troubled him. "In my preparations," says the traveller, "my anxiety was most excruciating; over and over again I studied the hard names and measures—conned again and again the polysyllables—hoping to be able to arrivesome time at an intelligible definition of the terms. I resolved in my mind the words, mukunguru, ghulabio, sungomazzi, kadunduguru, mutunda, sami-sami, bubu, merikani, hafde, lunghio-rega, and lakhio, until I was fairly beside myself. Finally, however, I came to the conclusion that if I reckoned my requirements at fifty khete, or five fundo per day, for two years, and if I purchased only eleven varieties, I might consider myself safe enough. The purchase was accordingly made, and twenty-two sacks of the best species were packed and brought to Capt. Webb's house, ready for transportation to Bagamoyo.

"After the beads came the wire question. I discovered, after considerable trouble, that Nos. 5 and 6—almost of the thickness of telegraph wire—were considered the best numbers for trading purposes. While beads stand for copper coin in Africa, cloth measures for silver, wire is reckoned as gold in the countries beyond the Tanganika. Ten frasilah, or 350 lbs., of brass wire, my Arab adviser thought would be ample."

Among the few mistakes made by Mr. Stanley in his preparations was his determination to take two British subjects with him, Messrs. Farquhar and Shaw. The former was a capital navigator and mathematician—strong, energetic, and quick-witted; but he was a confirmed sot. When Stanley went to seek them for the

start, they were both muddled with drink. Seventy-three days after his arrival at Zanzibar he set off on the momentous journey. The twenty-five miles of sea was crossed to the main land, and from the African town of Bagamoyo he gave what he calls the "*mot du quête*," or watchword, "Forward." The men and material are thus catalogued:—

"The expedition numbers, on the day of departure, three white men, twenty-three soldiers, four supernumeraries, four chiefs, and one hundred and fifty-three pagazis, twenty-seven donkeys, and one cart, conveying cloth, beads, and wire; boat fixings, tents, cooking utensils, and dishes; medicine, powder, small shot, musket-balls, and metallic cartridges; instruments and small necessaries; such as soap, sugar, tea, coffee, Liebig's extract of meat, pemmican, candles, &c., which make a total of 152 loads. The weapons of defence which the expedition possesses consist of one double-barrel breech-loading gun, smooth bore; one American Winchester rifle, or 'sixteen-shooter;' one Henri rifle, or sixteen-shooter;' two Starr's breech-loaders, one Jocelyn breech-loader, one elephant rifle, carrying balls eight to the pound; two breech-loading revolvers, twenty-four muskets (flint-locks), six single-barrelled pistols, one battle-axe, two swords, two daggers (Persian kummers, purchased at Shiraz by myself), one boar-spear, two American axes, 4lbs. each; twenty-four axes, and twenty-four butcher knives."

At the issuing of the watchword, "Forward!" the journey commenced. In these pleasant words Mr. Stanley describes the setting off:—

"As the Kirangozi (guide) unrolled the American flag, and put himself at the head of the caravan, and the pagazis, animals, soldiers, and idlers were lined for the march, we bade a long farewell to the *dolce far niente* of civilized life, to the blue ocean, and to its open road, to home, to the hundreds of dusky spectators who were there to celebrate our departure with repeated salvoes of musketry. We left Bagamoyo, the attraction of all the curious, with much *eclat*, and defiled up a narrow lane, shaded almost to twilight by the dense umbrage of two parallel hedges of mimosas. We were all in the highest spirits. The soldiers sang, the Kirangozi lifted his voice into a loud, bellowing note, and fluttered the American flag, which told all on-lookers, 'Lo, a Musungu' (white men) caravan,' heart, I thought, palpitated much too quickly for the sober and my face of a leader. But I could not check it; the enthusiasm of youth still clung to me—despite my travels; my pulses bounded with the full glow of health; behind me were troubles which had harrassed me for over two months. With that dishonest son of a Hindi, Soor Hadji Palloo, I had said my last word; of the blatant rabble of Arabs, Banyans, and Baluches

I had taken my last look; with the Jesuits of the French mission I had exchanged farewells, and before me beamed the sun of promise as he sped towards the Occident. Loveliness glowed around me. I saw fertile fields, luxuriant vegetation, strange trees—heard the cry of cricket and peewit, and sibilant sound of many insects, all of which seemed to tell me, 'At last you are started.' What could I do but lift my face toward the pure glowing sk and cry, 'God be thanked.'"

Their first encampment was a very few miles away. They paused to complete a few remaining details of preparation, and then, on a fine spring morning, they set off again. The land was sandy but remarkably fertile. They noticed a large number of men and women at work in the fields in a nude state, and Mr. Stanley says, "they were not ashamed." Their curiosity was excited by the appearance of the caravan; some laughed and giggled, others shouted, whilst others stared, petrified at the sight. Very shortly they entered an immense open forest of ebony and calabash. As they passed, the splendid, red antelopes bounded away in all directions, and the innumerable frogs hushed their croak. Their first difficulty was in erecting a bridge over a tributary of the turbid Kingani, so famous for its herds of hippopotami. Coming to the river they utilized a ferry, the ferry-boat being the hollowed trunk of a tree, the old ferryman answering the "halloo" just as an English ferryman would do. On the thither side of the river the scene enchanted the travellers. The plain heaved up towards the summit of an elevated ground—a grand expanse of lawn and sward, wood and underwood. For a long distance this was the character of the country. So struck was our traveller with the scenery that he says, "Indeed had the first man at the time of the creation gazed at this part of Africa, he would have had no cause of complaint. In the deep thickets, set like islets amid a sea of grassy verdure, he would have found shelter from the noon-day heat, and a safe retirement for himself and spouse during the awesome darkness. In the morning he could have walked forth on the sloping sward, enjoyed its freshness, and performed his ablutions in one of the many small streams flowing at its foot. His garden of fruit trees is all that is required; the noble forests, deep and cool, are round about him, and in their shade walk as many animals as one can desire. For days and days, let a man walk in any direction—north, south, east, and west—and he will behold the same scene."

The reader might exclaim, "What a paradise!" But this is only the fair face of the picture; it has a reverse side. For the next page tells of the innumerable swarms of African flies, many of them veritable blood-suckers; then we have accounts of deadly

nalaria, and African fever. Soon Stanley's troubles began to accumulate; for in a fortnight two horses were destroyed, several of his men had deserted, and ten were on the sick list.

Nothing daunted by difficulty, but fertile in resource to overcome it, he pushed on until he came to a genuine African jungle. By Mr. Stanley's vivid and realistic descriptions we can realize the dangerous and dreadful scenes he passed through. The powerful miasma from decayed vegetation, and the pungent odours from rank plants, almost overwhelmed them. As they passed through the villages, between these dismal swamps, the natives looked upon them as though they had fallen from the clouds. This kind of travel continued for nearly a month, and covered a distance of one hundred and twenty miles. The towns terminating this stage of the journey are Bangogo and Simbamwenni. The season of early rains set in, which the wise men of Bangogo had told Stanley would continue for forty days. These rains turned every valley into a river, and made the journey full of discomfort, and oftentimes of danger. Mr. Stanley gives a pictorial illustration of his caravan struggling through a swamp, with water above their waists. At the outset of this passage through the swamp he says: "The donkeys stuck in the mire, as if they were rooted in it. As fast as one was flogged from his stubborn position, prone to the depths fell another, giving me a sisyphean labour, which was maddening under the pelting rain; assisted by such men as Bombay and Uledi, who could not, for a whole skin's sake, stomach the storm and mire. Two hours of such a task enabled me to drag my caravan over a savannah, one mile and a-half broad; and barely had I finished congratulating myself over my success before I was halted by a deep ditch, which, filled with rain-water from the inundated savannah, had become a wide stream, breast deep, flowing swiftly into the Makata. Donkeys had to be unloaded, led through the torrent, and loaded again on the other bank. Presently, after straggling through a wood clump, barring our progress was another stream swollen into a river. The bridge being swept away, we were obliged to swim and float our baggage over. Leaving this second river bank, we splashed and waded, occasionally half-swimming, and reeled through mire and water, through dripping grass and Matama stacks, along the left bank of the Makata proper, until farther progress was effectually prevented for that day by a deep bend in the river, which we must cross next day. . . . If ever a district was cursed with the ague, the Makata wilderness ranks foremost of those afflicted. Surely the sight of the dripping woods enveloped in opaque mist, of the inundated country with lengthy swathes of tiger-grass, laid low by the turbid flood, of mounds of decaying trees and canes, of the swollen river and the

weeping sky, was enough to engender the mukunguru (African if ever). The well-used khambi, and the heaps of filth surrounding it, were enough to create the cholera. Every person in the caravan was sick or discontented. Shaw was sick from his first mukunguru, exhibiting himself under a new phase—a phase none of the pleasantest. Besides delivering himself of certain desires not at all complimentary to the expedition, within nervous hearing, he seemed by degrees to assume the character of a chronic hypochondriac, which, at all times an unlovely character, is positively hateful to the Mtongi of an African expedition, battling with swamps and rain and a sickened caravan. Zaidi, a soldier, was critically ill with small-pox; the 'kichuma-chuma,' little irons, had hold of Bombay across the chest, rendering him the most useless of the unserviceables. Mabruk Saleem, a youth of lusty frame, following the example of Bombay, laid himself down on the marshy ground, professing, while imitating a man who vomits, his total inability to breast the swamp. But a plaited thong, vigorously laid across his naked shoulders, expurged the seeming nausea from the stomach; Abdul Kader, the Hindu tailor and adventurer, the weakest of mortal bodies, was ever ailing for lack of 'force,' as he expressed it in French, *i.e.*, strength, ever indisposed to work, shiftless, mock-sick, but ever hungry. 'O God!' was the cry of my tired soul, 'were all the men of my expedition like this man, I should be compelled to return, but not before taking summary vengeance upon the whole of them.' The virtue of a good whip, which was well tested by me on this day, and Abdul Kader (and may he carry the tale to all his kith and kin and race), one may be sure, will never accompany a white man again to Africa. Solomon was wise, perhaps from inspiration, perhaps from observation. I was becoming wise by experience, and I was compelled to observe that when mud and wet sapped the physical energy of the lazily-inclined, a dog-whip became their back, restoring them to a sound—sometimes an extravagant activity. Thus we pushed on through thirty miles of swamp. The water was, on an average, a foot deep; in some places we plunged into holes three, four, and even five feet deep. Plash, splash, plash, splash, were the only sounds we heard from the commencement of the march until we found the bombas occupying the only dry spots along the line of march."

The travel to Chungo was made troublesome to Mr. Stanley by the gross misbehaviour of the two white men, Farquhar being eventually left behind sick. From Chungo three of the caravans joined, and proceeded in a body of two hundred men to cross the waterless wilderness of Marenga Mkali, which stretched thirty miles before them. This had to be done in thirty-six hours, and not a drop of water to be found for this large body of men. In the

midst of the march a dangerous fever attacked Mr. Stanley. He had to be carried in a hammock, but care and a plentiful supply of quinine soon restored him. The contrast between Marenga Mkali and the Ugogo was the contrast of the "wilderness and the promised land." In about a month they reached Unyanyembe, where all the caravans were to unite into one body. Here they resided three months at Kurkuru, near Tabora, the capital of the district. The two interesting quotations we make of their residence here show the house of the *Herald* correspondent, and the characteristics of the country:—

"The '*Herald* Expedition' has its quarters in a large strong house, built of mud, with walls three feet thick. It is of one story, with a broad mud verandah in front, and a broad flat roof. The great door is situated directly in the centre of the front, and is the only one possible means of ingress and egress. Entering in at this door, we find a roomy hall-way; on our right is the strong store-room where the goods of the '*Herald* Expedition' and Livingstone's caravan are kept, well padlocked, to guard against burglars. Soldiers at night occupy the hall-way with loaded guns, and during the day there are always two men on guard, besides Burton's bull-headed Mabruki, who acts as my porter or policeman. On our left is a room open to the hall-way on the floor, on which are spread straw mats and two or three Persian carpets, where the Arab sheikhs squat when they come to visit me. Passing through the hall-way we come to the courtyard, a large quadrangle, fenced in and built around the house. There are about a dozen pomegranate trees planted in the yard, more for their shade than for their fruit. The houses around consist first of the granary where we keep the rice, the matansa, the Indian corn, the sweet potatoes, &c. Next comes the very much besmoked kitchen—a primitive affair—merely a few stones on which the pots are placed. The cook and his youthful subs are protected from the influences of the weather by a shed. Next to the kitchen is the stable, where the few remaining animals of the expedition are housed at night—these are two donkeys, one milch cow, and six milch goats. The cow and the goats furnish me with milk for my gruel, my puddings, my sauces, and my tea. (I was obliged to attend to my comfort and make use of the best African offers.) Next to the stable is another large shed, which serves as barracks for the soldiers. Here they stow themselves and their wives, pots, and beds, and find it pretty comfortable. Next to this is the house of the white man—my nautical help—where he can be just as exclusive as he likes, has his own bedroom, verandah, bath room, &c. His tent serves him for a curtain, and in English phrase he has often declared it to be 'jolly and no mistake.' Occupying the half of one side of the house are my quarters—said quarters consisting of two well-plastered and neat rooms. My

table is an oxhide, stretched over a wooden frame. Two portmanteaus, one on top of the other, serve as a chair. My bedstead is only a duplicate of my table, over which I spread my bearskin and Persian carpet. When the very greatest and most important of the Arabs and sheikhs visit me, Selim, my invaluable adjunct, is always told to fetch the bearskin and Persian carpet for the bed."

The second quotation gives an interesting description of the district and its fauna: "It is only after a long halt that one begins to weary of Unyanyembe, the principal district of Unyamwezi. It is only when one has been stricken down almost to the grave by the fatal chilly winds which blow from the heights of the mountains of Usagara, that one begins to criticise the beauty which at first captivated. It is found then that—though the land is fair to look upon, though we rejoiced at the sight of its grand plains, at its fertile and glowing fields, at sight of the roving herds which promised us abundance of milk and cream—it is one of the most deadly countries in Africa; that its fevers remittent and intermittent are unequalled in their severity. Unyamwezi, or the Land of the Moon—from *U*, country; *nya*, of the; *muezi*, moon—extends over three degrees of latitude in length, and about two and a-half degrees of longitude in breadth. Its principal districts are Unyanyembe, Ugunda, Ugara, Jura, Rubuga-Kigwa, Usagazi, and Uyoweh. Each district has its own chief prince, king, or mtemi, as he is called in Kinyamwezi. Unyanyembe, however, is the principal district, and its King Mkasiwa is generally considered to be the most important person in Unyamwezi. The other kings often go to war against him, and Mkasiwa often gets the worst of it, as, for instance, in the present war between the King of Uyoweh—Mirambo—and Mkasiwa. All this vast country is drained by the rivers of the Northern and Southern Gombe, which empty into the Malagarazi river, and thence into Lake Tanganyika. On the east Unyamwezi is bounded by the wilderness of Mgunda, Makali, and Ukimbu; on the south by Urori and Ukonong; on the west by Ukawendi and Uvinza; on the north by several small countries and the Ukereweh Lake. Were one to ascend by a balloon, and scan the whole of Unyamwezi, he would have a view of one great forest, broken here and there by the little clearings and the villages, especially around Unyanyembe. The forests of Southern Unyamwezi contains a large variety of game and wild beasts. In these may be found herds of elephants, buffalo, giraffe, zebra, eland, hartebeest, sprinkbok, pallah, black buck, and a score of other kinds. In the neighbourhood of the Gombe (Southern) may be seen any number of wild boar, and hogs, lions, and leopards. The Gombe itself is remarkable for the number of hippopotami and crocodile to be found in it."

The expedition now set off for Ujiji; but here a new and formidable difficulty presented itself. An ambitious and fiery chief, Mirambo—a black Napoleon, Stanley calls him—was marauding the country between Unyanyembe and Ujiji; the Arab merchants of the former place confederated to attack him. Mr Stanley was prevailed upon to assist in this quasi-military movement, but Mirambo by a skilfully managed ambush took one part of his army, and the rest in the moment of consternation ran away panic-stricken, and but for the brave and faithful conduct of an Arab boy Mr. Stanley would have obtained but scant mercy from the fiery Mirambo. This failure led him to adopt a different route, and push his way in untrodden paths for Ujiji. We must deny ourselves the pleasure of recording here the eloquent description of the varied and often magnificent scenery, the sufferings of the travellers, their many hair-breadth escapes, Stanley's dexterous management of his people, and must hasten to the end and consummation of their travels and sufferings, the finding of Livingstone. On the 9th of November, the 235th day from the start, and the 50th from Unyanyembe his guide told him that the hills in the distance were those of Tanganika*. He could hardly contain himself at the announcement, and spurred his men forward with the promise that to-morrow they should see their reward. Next morning the final stage was commenced, and soon their eyes are feasted with the immense and memorable waters of the Lake Tanganyika. In these animated terms the traveller describes the scene, and their sensations of joy:—

"In two hours I am warned to prepare for a view of the Tanganika, for, from the top of a steep mountain, the Kirangozi says I can see it. I almost vent the feelings of my heart in cries. But wait; we must behold it first. And we press forward and up the hill breathlessly, lest the grand scene hasten away. We are at last on the summit. Ah! not yet can it be seen. A little further on, just yonder—oh! there it is—a silvery gleam. I merely catch sight of it between the trees, and—but here it is at last. True, THE TANGANIKA! and there are the blue-black mountains of Ugoma and Ukaramba. An immense broad sheet, a burnished bed of silver—lucid canopy of blue above—lofty mountains are its valances, palm forests form its fringes! The Tanganika—hurrah! and the men responded to the exultant cry of the Anglo-Saxon with the lungs of stentors, and the great forests and the hills seem to share in our triumph."

They rapidly descend the mountain slopes, and soon see Ujiji, embowered in palms, five hundred yards below. They unfurl their flags, fire a round, and march into the village, while the

* Mr. Stanley differs from other travellers in deleting the *y* in this name; others write it Tanganyika. He affirms that the *y* is superfluous.

people swarm around them. Though the sequel is by this time known over the civilized world—and though the words of Mr. Stanley have been often quoted, yet from the memorable character of the event we give them a place in these pages: "The news had been conveyed to the Doctor, that it was surely a white man that was coming—whose guns were firing, and whose flag could be seen—and the great Arab magnates, and others, had gathered before the Doctor's house; and the Doctor had come out from his verandah to discuss the matter, and await my arrival. In the meantime the head of the expedition had halted, holding his flag aloft, and Selim said to me, 'I see the doctor, Sir, oh, what an old man! he has got a white beard.' And I—what would I not have given for a bit of friendly wilderness, where, unseen, I might vent my joy in some mad freak, such as idiotically biting my hand, turning a somersault, or slashing at trees, in order to allay those feelings which were well nigh uncontrollable. My heart beat fast, but I must not let my face betray my emotions, lest it should detract from the dignity of a white man appearing under such extraordinary circumstances; so I did what I thought was most dignified: I pushed back the crowds, and, passing from the river, walked down the living avenue of the people, until I came in front of a semicircle of Arabs, in the front of which stood the white man with the grey beard. As I advanced slowly towards him, I noticed he was pale, looked wearied, had a grey beard, wore a bluish cap, with a faded gold band round it, had on a red-sleeved waistcoat and a pair of grey tweed trousers. I would have run to him, only I was a coward in the presence of such a mob—would have embraced him, only, he being an Englishman, I did not know how he would receive me. So I did what cowardice and false pride suggested was the best thing—walked deliberately to him, took off my hat, and said: 'Dr. Livingstone, I presume?'

"'Yes!' said he, with a kind smile, lifting his cap slightly. I replaced my hat, and he puts on his cap, and we both grasp hands; and then I say aloud: "I thank God, Doctor, I have been permitted to see you.' He answered:

"'I feel thankful that I am here to welcome you.'" They, the Doctor and his discoverer, retired, and then "conversation began; what about I declare I have forgotten. Oh! we mutually asked questions—such as, 'How did you come here?' and 'Where have you been all this while?' Yes! that was the way it began."

Of the conversation and the startling news from Europe, which Mr. Stanley communicated, we have an interesting account, upon which, however, we must not dwell. Not the least interesting and valuable part of this volume is the record of the four months' residence with Livingstone in Ujiji. He had a cruise

on the Lake Tanganika with the Doctor; and in this voyage they succeeded in reaching the northern end of the Lake, which Burton and Speke were unable to do. They ascertained that the river Rusizi runs into the Lake, and not out of it, as had been believed. This expedition was suggested by Stanley, who has thus the honour of deciding an important point in African geography.

Of Livingstone, Stanley speaks in terms of filial reverence and admiration. He grants that he is not an angel, but thinks he approaches one as nearly as the nature of man will allow. He challenges examination of his hero for "any man to find a fault" in the Doctor's character. Just before he left him, Stanley writes thus: "I have just said that my admiration for Livingstone has been growing. This is true. The man that I was about to interview so calmly and complacently has conquered me. Shall I tell you what I intended to do? I intended to interview him, report in detail what he said, picture his life and his figure, then bow him my "*au revoir*," and march back. That he was specially disagreeable and *brusque* in his manner, which would make me quarrel with him immediately, was firmly fixed in my mind. Besides, he was an Englishman—perhaps a man who used an eye-glass, through which he would glare at me ferociously, icily, both amounting to the same thing—and, like a young Cornet of the Scinde Horse in Abyssinia, ask me deliberately, after retreating from me several paces, 'Whom have I the honour to address?' or like an ancient general, who shouted out, 'Well, sir, who are you? What do you want here?" Indeed, the results of my acquaintance with English gentlemen were such that I should not have been surprised if he had said, 'Might I ask, sir, if you have a letter of introduction for me?' But what a question would this have been on the shores of Lake Tanganika! I would have just ordered a retreat to the hill above Ujiji; there rested a few days, and then returned to tell the world how I had been snubbed. But Livingstone, noble Christian, and generous-hearted, frank man, acted like a hero; he invited me to his house, was glad to see me, and got well on purpose to prove the truth of his statement, 'You have brought new life unto me, and when I fell ill with intermittent fever, hovering between life and death, he attended me like a father. Can you wonder that I like this man whose face is the reflex of his nature, whose heart is essentially all goodness, whose aims are so high that I was tempted to break out sometimes, 'But your family, Doctor—they would like to see you, oh! so much. Come home with me; I promise to carry you every foot of the way; you shall have the finest donkey to ride that is in Unyanyembe. Let the sources of the Nile go; do come home and rest; then,

after a year's rest, and restored health, you can return and finish what you have to do.' But the answer was ever, 'No; I should like to see my family very much indeed. My children's letters affect me intensely, but I must not go home; I must finish my task."

Ultimately they seriously discussed the question, and Mr. Stanley said, "I have five propositions to submit to you. I am a young man, and do not wish you to take any advice of mine, for you are a perfect old hero. But I know the road I have come; I have studied the country fairly well; and I think I can tell you your best plan. I have about sixty soldiers with me; I have got cloth, and wire, and beads, such as will melt the hearts of the women of Manyuema, and make the warriors of the Rua dance a fandango. I have also got boats, so that, if you go to the river, you will be quite independent, and you need not hail a chief and ask him to ferry you over; you need not ask the leave of any chief in Africa if you take my boat. These are my propositions:— 1. To go to Baker at Gondokoro. 2. To cross from the head of Lake Tanganika to the Victoria Nyanza. 3. To stop at Ujiji, and wait supplies there. 4. To go home and take the rest you so much need. 5. To accompany me to Unyanyembe, and there wait for the fifty men I will send you with supplies. Livingstone —cool and calculating, like many of the faces around me—said, 'Well, I will think it over.' 'Doctor,' said I, 'I did not think to stop very long here; I just intended to come and interview you, and start right home again; it will depend exactly upon what you think is best. If you wish me to take you to San Salvador, on the Western Ocean, I will do so. Where can you go with five men. I will tell you what you will do if you won't take my offer; you will sit right down in the verandah at Ujiji, and you will be a prey to bitter disappointment as regards the high expectations you have nourished. Every day the Arabs will tell you the war will end to-morrow, or it will end next week; but, between you and me, we know the war will never end, and if you stop here with these five men and twenty cloths, what will you do?' Next morning he said, 'I have decided.' He slept over it, as cool men generally do who never do anything in a hurry, and he said, 'That last proposition of yours is the best.'"

So, when they set off upon their return journey, the Doctor accompanied them to Unyanyembe to wait for the supplies which Stanley afterwards despatched, with which, we trust, the noble veteran is now successfully completing his proposed explorations. Mr. Stanley's chapters, entitled "Geographical and Ethnological Remarks," are profoundly interesting. He gives full details respecting the water system and vegetable products of the *various* regions through which he passed; and his observations on

the African physique deserve the attention of ethnologists. He calls the Wahumbe the Greeks of Africa. "One will look in vain for a thick lip or a flat nose among them. On the contrary, the mouth is exceedingly well cut and decidedly small; the nose is decidedly Greek." The same testimony is borne by Dr. Livingstone; and Bowdich, in his "Mission to Ashantee," has eulogised the Grecian beauty of the king's wives:—"There can be little doubt that the natives of the coast regions are of an inferior type to the natives of the plateau, and that the negro, with flattened nose and blubber lips, cannot with justice be selected to represent the inhabitants of Africa."

We have not space to dwell upon the adventures, trials, and sufferings of the homeward march;—how they forded rivers, plunged through marshes, trod their slow and dangerous way through jungles full of deadly malaria, and dragging their goods along roads which were not roads. But Mr. Stanley was equal to every emergency. His resolution, exhaustless resource of enterprise, and ingenuity never failed him. At length their journey was over, and the first sentence of the last chapter of the book narrates—"At 5 p.m., 7th of May, 1872, the dhow which conveyed my expedition back to Zanzibar arrived in the harbour, and the men, delighted to find themselves at home, fired volley after volley, the American flag was hoisted up, and we soon saw the house roofs and wharves lined with spectators, many of whom were Europeans, with glasses levelled at us."

We are free to say that the perusal of this book has excited our admiration of the pluck, energy, and organising capacity of the traveller; and if we do not always think him prudent or sufficiently cautious, his courage and out-spokenness always commend him to us. The spirit of the following observations is worthy of all praise:—"Now that I have returned uninjured in health, though I have suffered the attack of twenty-three fevers within the short space of thirteen months, I must confess I owe my life, first, to the mercy of God; secondly, to the enthusiasm for my work which animated me from the beginning to the end; thirdly, to having never ruined my constitution by indulgence in vice and intemperance; fourthly, to the energy of my nature; fifthly, to a native hopefulness which never died; and sixthly, to having furnished myself with a capacious water and damp-proof canvass."

There are two subjects dealt with in this volume—incidentally it is true—which came within the scope of questions pertinent to the "Christian Ambassador." We refer to missionary work and slavery. There are districts and villages which Stanley passed through which only wait the voice of a Christian missionary. But, he says, "he must be no kid-glove, effeminate man, no journal writer, no disputatious polemic, no silken stole and chasuble-loving

priest, but a thorough earnest labourer in the garden of the Lord,—a man of the Livingstone or of the Robert Moffatt stamp."

He speaks in burning words of the horrible system of slavery between Unyanyembe and the sea. Most devoutly is it to be desired that the action of the Government and the mission of Sir Bartle Frere may end in something decisive, not only to mitigate, but to destroy this black, bitter curse from Africa.

Of Mr. Stanley's opinion of the break-up of the Dawson Expedition we will not write now, nor dwell upon the suspicious and ungentlemanly treatment he received from certain *savants* and scientists at Brighton and elsewhere. But in all their opposition, their covert sneers, and their cold cynicism, to their surprise they "caught a Tartar," for Stanley was not to be put down either by their cold suspicions or the weight of their authority. In the serene regions where *savants* dwell, we, in our ignorance, had supposed no odium ever could come, but, lo! we find that the *oduim geographicum* is as bitter and ruthless as any other. But we are glad to say that these learned opponents of Stanley did the *amende honourable* at last: the Royal Geographical Society unanimously voted him its highest prize, the gold medal, and invited him to dinner, and there were concessions and apologies all round; and the postscript of the volume records the reconciliation, and adds the fact that her Majesty had welcomed him in private interview, and had sent him a handsome souvenir of his work.

It only remains for us to say that the work is admirably "got-up," type and paper are all that could be desired, and the maps, engravings, and woodcuts, are done in the best style. E. H.

ART. V.—THE MARTYR OF ERROMANGA.*

THE missionary enterprise is in its spirit and objects the most noble and beneficent in which man can engage. Its spirit is that of loyalty to God and benevolence towards mankind; and the objects which it contemplates are the diffusion of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, the deliverance of men from sin and misery, and the universal spread of civilization, liberty, and peace. It is the fullest expression of the spirit of Christianity; it is, in fact, Christianity in action, going forth in the earth on her mission of mercy and love.

The missionary character must, therefore, be the highest form of moral development which history presents. The man who breathes its spirit of charity and goodwill, and who devotes his life to the

* Substance of a Lecture.

carrying out of its objects, must be one of the noblest of his species. He is consecrated to a work which in the highest degree yields glory to God and happiness to men, and in which the noblest powers and sentiments of human nature find scope and play.

There is none, then, whose character and labours will repay thoughtful attention more than the missionary of the cross. If it be a law of our nature that our character is influenced and moulded to a high degree by the character of those in whom we take a loving and sympathetic interest—then to meditate upon the character and life-work of such men as Carey, Morison, Martyn, and Williams, must have a happy influence upon us. To some extent we must catch their spirit and be moved to imitate their bright examples.

There have, both in ancient and modern times, been men engaged in this enterprise who have in the fullest manner exemplified its spirit and genius. If these men were properly sketched, what a glorious portrait-gallery they would form! An unspiritual world might see no beauty in them, but the pious would regard them as the fairest of the sons of men. Among these worthies a high position must be assigned to the subject of the present sketch. It is not claimed for him on the ground of high intellectual gifts—for many have been more highly endowed in this respect than he,—but on the ground of his self-sacrificing spirit and enterprising labours in the cause of Christ, crowned by his martyr-death. None comes nearer to our ideal of a missionary of Jesus—and there is none in whose life and labours the power of missions to elevate mankind receives more ample illustrations.

John Williams was of pious descent. His father's ancestors fled from Wales in the time of Charles II., in consequence of the persecutions to which they, being Nonconformists, were subjected. His mother was a God-fearing woman, who attended most carefully to the religious training of her children. Morning and evening she used to take them into her room for instruction and prayer. In after life Williams often remembered with grateful pleasure his mother's counsels and prayers on these occasions. How little did she think that she was laying the foundation of such a noble life—that the seed which she then so lovingly sowed would yield such a precious harvest!

Apprenticed by his parents to a furnishing ironmonger, he had the opportunity of developing and improving the mechanical genius with which he was endowed, and which he afterwards turned to such good account. Though he was bound by his indentures to attend at the counter, and not to work at the forge, he was so anxious to acquire a practical knowledge of the business that he visited the workshop at every opportunity, loitering near the workmen, watching the process of manufacture; and, when they were at their meals,

taking their places, in order to put his previous observations to a practical test. By these means he became at length an expert workman, to whom work requiring taste and skill was entrusted by his master. Viewed in connection with the use to which he afterwards put this mechanical knowledge, we may see the hand of Providence in the direction which his impulses took. God was even there preparing him for the great work of his life.

Meanwhile, however, his moral and religious character seemed to be degenerating. He was gradually sinking into an ungodly and irreligious state. It appeared as if his pious mother's counsels and prayers had been in vain. The promise of his early days was not now likely to be realized. His association with worldly young men, and disregard of the Sabbath and the House of God, indicated the estrangement of his heart from the Lord. Referring afterwards to this period of his life, he said, "I often scoffed at the name of Christ and his religion, and totally neglected those things which alone can afford solid consolation." But in his case, as it has been in that of many others, it was darkest when it was nearest dawn. His mother's prayers for him had gone up before God, and in a very remarkable way the answer came. Having engaged to spend with his ungodly companions a Sabbath evening near to his master's residence, he was, at the appointed time, sauntering about the place of meeting, waiting for his companions, when Mrs. Tonkins, his employer's wife, came by on her way to the tabernacle in Moorsfield. Discovering his face by the light of a lamp, she asked why he was standing there, and, on his frankly confessing the reason, affectionately invited him to go with her to the house of God. After some hesitation he consented to do so. Timothy East, of Birmingham, was the preacher that evening. As he urged the solemn question, which formed his text, "What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" the Word of God went home to the heart of Williams; he saw his sin and danger, and there and then resolved to enter upon a new life. Nor was this a transient change. From this time his regular attendance upon the means of grace, his thirst for religious knowledge, and zeal in doing good, gave unmistakeable evidence of the reality of his conversion to God. His leisure time was now taken up with works of Christian benevolence. His diligence in teaching in the Sabbath-school, distributing religious tracts, and visiting the sick and destitute, gained him the goodwill of all who knew him. It is interesting to note these early manifestations of Divine charity in one whose career was so beneficent—to mark the source from which the stream of his life sprang,—just as scientific men have pleasure in exploring the sources of those mighty rivers which fertilize extensive countries, and bear on their bosom the merchandise of many nations.

But his benevolence took soon a wider range. Other scenes of spiritual ignorance and misery than those around him began to occupy his mind. The miserable condition of the heathen, perishing for lack of knowledge, stirred the compassion of his heart. The London Missionary Society was then prosecuting its labours with great success in South Africa and on the South Sea Islands. Matthew Wilks, the pastor of the church to which Williams belonged, took a great interest in the work of the Society, and endeavoured to interest his people in it also. It was through a fervid appeal on behalf of these missions by this good man, at one of the meetings which he held for the purpose of acquainting his people with their operations, that the idea of being a missionary was awakened in the mind of Williams. "At that time," he said, "I took but little notice of it, but afterwards the desire was occasionally very strong for months. My heart was frequently with the poor heathen." As this desire cleaved to him, he made it the subject of serious prayer, asking God, if it was not consistent with his will, to eradicate it; but, if agreeable to it, to strengthen it. This desire increasing, he at length offered himself to the directors of the London Missionary Society. His offer was accepted, and, two or three months after, he was solemnly ordained to the work of a missionary of Christ. An extract from the letter in which he made this offer of himself to the Society will show his anxiety to be in the right path. After stating the reasons which had led him to make the offer, he adds: "If this, and the account which the Rev. Mr. Wilks can give of me, should not meet with your concientious approbation, I hope, pray, and trust, that you will on no account, for the sake of my soul, offer me the least encouragement."

The service at which he was ordained was one of the most memorable events in connection with modern missions. Nine young men were on that occasion set apart to the noble enterprise—five for South Africa, and four for the South Sea Islands. Two of these young men, and they the youngest, rose afterwards above the rest. The one was Robert Moffatt, and the other John Williams. Words of earnest counsel and encouragement, which Williams never forgot, were addressed to him by some of the eminent men who took part in the service. "Go, my beloved brother," said J. A. James, putting at the same time a copy of the Bible into the hand of Williams; "and, with the ability which God has given you, be faithful, in season and out of season, in proclaiming the precious truths which this volume contains." "Go, my dear young brother," said Dr. Waugh, with tears in his eyes, "and if your tongue cleave to the roof of your mouth, let it be with telling poor sinners of the love of Jesus Christ; and if your arms drop from your shoulders, let it be with knocking at men's hearts to gain for him admission there." Soon after his ordination, accompanied by his devoted

young wife, he bade adieu to his weeping mother and friends, and embarked for the distant field of labour to which he had been appointed. While he is crossing the ocean, let us turn our thoughts to the region to which he is bound—the intended sphere of his labour for Christ.

Between the western coast of America and Australasia the Pacific Ocean is studded with a multitude of islands, called Polynesia, varying in circumference from a few miles to many hundreds. Some of these islands are of volcanic origin; others have been formed by the industrious coral insects. "The volcanic islands display the most splendid and luxuriant landscapes, the mountains rising in fantastic shapes to the height of 1,000 feet, the sides of which are covered with the brightest verdure. The coral islands scarcely appear above the level of the sea; but many of them are verdant and fruitful. Around the most of the islands there are reef belts of coral, at a distance of from two to twenty miles from the shore. The waves of the Pacific dash against this barrier, the spray of which forms beautiful marine rainbows; but the lagoons within are perfectly calm, in the clear depth of which fishes and corals of various shape and colour may be seen. The climate is salubrious, the tropical heat being modified by the sea breezes: and the vegetable productions are rich and various. In the beautiful valleys the stately bread fruit tree and the towering cocoa-nut palm, which supply the natives with food, timber, and cordage, grow luxuriantly. And on the mountains the plantain, tars, and other plants and trees abound." Many of the islands are perfect paradises of physical beauty,—

> "Isles rich with fruits, and redolent with flowers,
> And beautiful as earth's primæval bowers."

But the inhabitants of those islands, upon which God has lavished so much beauty, were, at the time of their discovery, sunken into the lowest condition of moral wretchedness and degradation. Infanticide, polygamy, and cannibalism were common crimes; bloody and desolating wars raged; at the shrines of their numberless deities human victims were frequently offered. A more gloomy condition of moral debasement can scarcely be imagined.

But in the latter part of the last century God turned the thoughts of his people towards those islands of the seas, and opened the way for the sending of the gospel to them. Their discovery by Captain Cook was almost contemporaneous with the awakening of missionary zeal in the British churches. While, therefore, the interest of the people of this country was excited by what they heard of the marvellous beauty and fertility of those newly-discovered regions, the compassion of the religious part of

them was stirred up by what they heard of the wretched condition of their inhabitants. Hence when the London Missionary Society resolved to send missionaries to them, a wonderful spirit of liberality and prayer was evoked. In a very short time ten thousand pounds were subscribed for the mission, which was commenced on an extensive scale. Twenty-five missionaries were sent out by the ship *Duff*, under the command of Captain Wilson, by whose skill they were safely landed and settled on the Marquesan, Tahitian, and Friendly Islands; and so bright was the prospect which opened to the missionaries that the *Duff* was sent out a second time with a reinforcement of thirty labourers.

This bright prospect was, however, very soon clouded. For a time God was pleased to try the faith of his people. The missions had to pass through a season of painful trial and disappointment. The *Duff* was captured on her outward voyage, and the missionaries which she had on board were obliged to return to England. The Marquesan and Friendly Island missions failed; some of the missionaries lost their lives, and others fled to New South Wales. Only a few devoted men, whom no difficulties could dishearten, remained at their posts. With a few who returned to their duty, these men continued to labour at Tahiti with untiring zeal, but with no apparent success. Not a single heathen was converted; no spirit of inquiry was excited; their prayers and preaching seemed to be in vain. The heavens were as brass, and the earth as iron. How trying it must have been for them to wait and labour all those years, without one gleam of sunshine to cheer them, or one ear of fruit to reward their toil! Nothing but unwavering faith in the promises of God could have sustained their souls.

But at length their faith and patience were rewarded. Success, as unexampled as their former adversity, now crowned their labours. "After a night of toil," says the biographer of Williams, "the memorable history of which will continue to instruct and encourage the Church to the end of time, the light had broken upon Tahiti and the surrounding isles. Far and near "the marvellous light" had awakened the slumbering people, while Pomare and the other chiefs, like the lofty summits of their own mountains at the dawn of day, were among the first to receive and reflect the beams of the Sun of Righteousness. Suddenly the few faithful men who, amidst discouragement and dangers seldom paralleled, had for years maintained their posts, were called to exchange tears for joy—sorrow for the songs of salvation; and they were like men that dream. Then was their mouth filled with laughter, and their tongue with singing; then said they among the heathen, "the Lord hath done great things for them; the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." So eager for instruction were the people now that the missionaries were

nearly worn out with their labours by night and day to satisfy them. To relieve these labours, and to extend the glorious work which had been begun, Williams and his companions were now on their way.

About twelve months after leaving the shores of England he landed at Eimeo, where the missionaries were then residing. Everything which he beheld on this island produced the most encouraging impressions. To see on the Sabbath, in their comfortable chapel, seven or eight hundred natives, who five years before had been wicked idolators, worshipping God—to hear, as he passed through their villages, the sounds of prayer and praise issuing from their dwellings—filled his soul with wonder and joy. As far as he was able he entered at once into the work, assisting the missionaries in their labours, and at the same time striving to acquire the language, that he might be able to preach the gospel to the natives himself. But this island did not present a sufficiently wide sphere of usefulness for his ardent spirit. Neither was he satisfied with reaping merely what others had sown. There were multitudes of populous islands lying around still immersed in darkness, and practising the cruelties which had been abolished at Eimeo. He soon began, therefore, to long passionately for an opportunity of taking the gospel to the inhabitants of those islands. Even before entering upon the work of a missionary he had looked upon the Tahitian islands as the fountain from which the streams of salvation might flow to the other islands and clusters of islands; and for this reason only had he regarded them as worthy of the money and lives which had been expended upon them.

Providence soon opened the way for the realization of his noble desires. No sooner had he mastered the native language than he received a call to preach the gospel at Raiatea. In a remarkable way Christianity had been introduced into this island. For years before this invitation came to Williams a small vessel, with Mr. Wilson, Pomare, and thirteen Tahitians on board, had been driven by a violent gale from its anchorage at Eimeo down to Raiatea. Encouraged by the hospitality of the natives, Mr. Wilson opened his commission, and preached unto them Jesus. This was a blessed visit for the Raiateans, and had evidently been ordained by Him whose counsel the stormy winds fulfil. The day-spring from on high had now visited them; and though many refused the Divine light, others—among whom was Tamatoa, the king, and a few of the chiefs—were convinced of their follies, and put away their strange gods from them. After the departure of Mr. Wilson they built a chapel, observed the Sabbath, and met to communicate to one another what they had learned. Anxious to increase in knowledge, Tamatoa now came over to the island where Williams was re-

siding to ask for a teacher. On hearing these facts, Williams was so deeply interested on behalf of these earnest seekers after truth that when the post of missionary to them was offered him he at once accepted it.

Raiatea was—both on account of its geographical position and political influence—a suitable centre of missionary operations. Its kings had for ages been supreme over the adjacent isles. It was also the fountain of the abominable idolatry which prevailed among them. Here were the temple and altar of their god Oro, to whom thousands of human victims had been brought from near and distant islands. Williams exulted, therefore, at the prospect of assaulting this stronghold of the devil, and of proving the power of the gospel to deliver its inhabitants from his degrading bondage. Nor were his expectations disappointed. In a very short time a glorious change was effected by the labours of himself and his colleague. Idolatry was entirely overthrown, and many of the people were truly converted to God; while the desire for instruction was so general that an absentee from the day and Sabbath-schools was regarded with astonishment. Beneficial changes took place also in the social position of the people: neat cottages, surrounded with gardens, were erected; useful arts were learnt by both males and females; and a regular government, with magistrates and laws, was established. Under the transforming power of the gospel Raiatea became almost as beautiful morally as it was physically. Its long winter had now passed away, and the buds and blossoms appearing on every side gave promise of a glorious summer.

It was, however, neither the wish of Williams, nor the will of Providence, that he should confine his labours to Raiatea. It was too small for his benevolent desires. In the true missionary spirit he desired to carry the gospel to the regions beyond. And just when he was impatiently longing for a wider sphere of labour, the Lord, in an unexpected and remarkable manner, opened the door wide for him. He now entered upon those "enterprises" which he has recorded himself, and which conferred such inestimable blessings upon those islands of the sea.

The providential circumstance to which we have referred was the arrival at Raiatea of Aurura, the chief of Runutu. An epidemic having visited the latter island, he and several natives, supposing it to have been sent by the gods, fitted out a vessel to flee from their anger in search of a more favoured isle. After being driven about for some time by the winds and tempests they reached Raiatea. Seeing there the great changes which the gospel had produced, and hearing it for themselves, they were so convinced of its value, that when their way back to their own island was soon after opened, anxious as Aurura was to return, he declared that he would never go back to that land of darkness without a light in his

hand. At his earnest request teachers were sent with him. A few weeks after their departure, wishing to know their fate, Williams sent a boat with a native crew to enquire respecting them, which soon returned laden with the rejected gods of the heathen. "When we saw," says Williams, "with our own eyes the abandoned gods, and read the letters which accompanied them, we felt a measure of that sacred joy which the angels experience when they shout, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ."

This was, however, but the beginning of the triumphs which God permitted him to witness. The victories which the truth gained in the neighbouring islands were more rapid and complete than those of an Alexander or Napoleon. So readily was the truth received that one can scarcely help thinking the prophet had them in his view when he said of the Saviour, "The isles shall wait for his law." Sailing to Aitutaki, where he had left teachers some time before, Williams saw there the grace of God manifested. No contrast could be greater than there was between his present reception and that with which he had met on his first visit. Then the natives, tatooed and painted, or begrimed with charcoal, had danced, and shouted, and thrown themselves into the most frantic gestures around him;—a more appalling picture of savage life he had never beheld. But now, when he came near to their shores, they shouted, "Good is the word of the Lord. It is now well with Aitutaki; the good word has taken root in Aitutaki." Some held up their hats, and some their spelling-books, in proof of what they said. The temples had been burnt, and not an idolator remained on the island. A chapel, nearly two hundred feet long, had been built, which Williams opened on the Sunday, discoursing to an attentive audience of fifteen hundred or two thousand people from his favourite text, "God so loved the world," &c. On this voyage he visited also Maéke and Mitiaro, where he witnessed similar success; at both places idolatry was at once renounced. Satan fell like lightning to the ground. In an incredibly short space of time these islands, hitherto almost unknown, were converted to the worship of God. "Thus perished," says Dr. Campbell, "before the breath of God the glory and terror of many generations. The sun had risen with his wonted splendour, gilding the eastern heavens with his glory; and little did the inhabitants of Mauké and Mitiaro imagine that, before he retired beneath the horizon in the western sky, 'Ichabod' would be written upon the idolatry of their ancestors."

His return to Raiatea from this successful expedition resembled the triumphal return of a conqueror from the field of battle. With the rejected gods hanging to the yard-arms and other parts of the *vessel, he sailed* down into the settlement, and dropped anchor in

the harbour, amid the shouts and congratulations of the people. In the evening a great meeting was held in the chapel, around which the idols were suspended. One of the native speakers, addressing the unconverted part of the assembly, said, "Behold, these are still your gods, although you do not acknowledge them." Urging them to turn to Christ, by whose power the idols had been overthrown, he added, "And how can you resist his power? The gods of wood are food for the fire, but the God without form is beyond your strength; his hand cannot be reached. These gods are conquered, but the invisible God will remain for ever. The idols, now hanging in degradation before us, were formerly unconquerable; but the power of God is gone forth, by which men become Christians, and savages brethren in Christ."

The conversion of Roma-tane, a chief of considerable influence, was one of the most interesting illustrations supplied by this expedition of the power of truth to overthrow error. Physically and mentally he was one of the finest specimens of manhood. While hearing Williams preach from Isaiah's description of the idolator's infatuation, "With part thereof he roasteth a roast, and is satisfied; and the residue thereof he maketh a god, and worshipeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, deliver me, for thou art my god," light broke in upon his soul. A new idea, and that the greatest of all ideas,—the idea of a Supreme Being—entered his mind. He saw at once the folly of making a god, and cooking food from the same tree. His soul was lost in wonder; he could neither eat nor sleep. He spent the whole night in conversation with the teachers and pious chiefs, who had accompanied them, about the wonderful truths which he had heard, frequently rising up and stamping with astonishment that he had been deluded so long, and expressed his determination never again to worship his idol gods. "Eyes, it is true, they have," he said, "but wood cannot see; ears they have; but wood cannot hear." Anxious to communicate to others the light which he had received, he accompanied Williams to one of the islands of which he was sovereign. He exhorted the people to burn their gods, and to listen to the instructions of the messengers of Jehovah. The people, terrified, asked if their gods would not be enraged, and strangle them. "No," Roma-tane boldly replied, "it is out of the power of the wood that we have adorned and called a god to kill us." Sailing to another island, the first words which he uttered to the chief and people, when he leaped on shore, were, "I am come to advise you to receive the Word of Jehovah, the true God, and to leave you a teacher and his wife, who will instruct you. Let us destroy our maraes and burn all the evil spirits with fire; never let us worship them again. They are wood, which we have carved and decorated, and called

gods. Here is the true God and his Word, and a teacher to instruct you. The true God is Jehovah, and the true sacrifice is his Son Jesus Christ."

A very striking proof of the power of the gospel, without adventitious help, to overthrow idolatry, was given in the evangelization of the large and splendid island of Raratonga. When Williams visited the island for the first time the people were so savage and violent in their treatment of the native teachers and their wives, whom he wished to leave with them, that he determined to abandon it for a time. But Papeiha, one of the teachers, volunteered to go among them alone. With nothing but a New Testament and a bundle of elementary books in his hands he swam ashore. How feeble did such an instrumentality seem for such a great work! How apparently unequal to the task of overthrowing the idolatry and subduing the savage nature of these islanders! But what was the result of his labours? A year after this, when Tyerman and Bennett, a deputation from the London Missionary Society, visited Raratonga, the whole population had renounced idolatry, and were then engaged in building a chapel six hundred feet in length. Williams subsequently visited them himself, when the people brought their idols and laid them at his feet.

To this island Buteve, the spiritual beggar, belonged. This man was a remarkable example of both temporal and spiritual industry. His hands and feet had been eaten off by disease; nevertheless, he raised sufficient food for himself, his wife, and three children. He walked on his knees, and tilled his ground by an instrument called a ko, which he pressed firmly to his side, and resting the weight of his body upon it, pierced the ground, scraping out the earth with the stumps of his arms; then clasping the plant, he placed it in the hole and filled in the earth. One evening, as Williams was walking along, Buteve got off his seat by the wayside, crept on his knees into the middle of the path, and shouted, "Welcome, servant of God, who brought light into this dark island; to you we are indebted for the word of salvation." Williams said, "What do you know of the word of salvation?" He answered, "I know about Jesus Christ, who came into the world to save sinners." On Williams enquiring what he knew about Jesus Christ, he replied, "I know that he is the Son of God, and that he died painfully upon the cross to pay for the sins of men, in order that their souls might be saved, and go to happiness in the skies." "I asked him," said Williams, "if all people went to heaven after death." "Certainly not," he replied, "only those who believe in the Lord Jesus, who cast away sin, and who pray to God." "You pray, of course," I continued. "O, yes," he said, "I very frequently pray as I weed my ground and plant my food; but always three times a-day, beside praying with my family morning and

evening." I asked him what he said when he prayed. He answered, "I say, 'O Lord, I am a great sinner, may Jesus take away my sins by his good blood; give me the righteousness of Jesus to adorn me, and give me the good spirit of Jesus to instruct me, and make my heart good, to make me a man of Jesus, and to take me to heaven when I die.'" "Well," I replied, "that, Butebe, is very excellent, but where did you obtain this knowledge?" "From you to be sure; who brought us the word of salvation but yourself?" "True," I answered; "but I do not recollect to have seen you at either of the settlements to hear me speak of these things; how do you obtain your knowledge of them?" "Why," said he, "as the people return from the services I take my seat by the way-side, and beg a bit of the word of them as they pass by; one gives me one piece, another another piece, and I collect them together in my heart, and by thinking over what I thus obtain, and praying to God to make me know, I understand a little about his Word."

One of the greatest blessings which the gospel brings to the heathen is the revelation which it makes to them of "life and immortality." It dispels the darkness which covers, to them, their future existence; it converts their dim conceptions of and instinctive longings for immortality into assured knowledge and hope. In reading the dying testimonies of some of the native converts to Christianity, which the "Enterprises" records, one is astonished at the clearness of their views of eternal life and of the pathway to it. Take the deathbed scene of Vara, who belonged to the island of Eimeo. One of his functions during the reign of idolatry was to provide sacrifices for the gods; and he had actually offered up his own little brother. But after his conversion to God he had led a singularly consistent life. The missionary who visited him, seeing that he was coming to his journey's end, said to him one day a while before his death, "Are you sorry that you cast away your lying gods, by which you used to gain so much property?" This question moved the soul of the dying man to its depths. With tears of joy in his eyes, he exclaimed, "Oh, no! no, no!—What! can I be sorry for casting away death for life. Jesus is my rock, the fortification in which my soul takes shelter." "Tell me," said the missionary, "on what you found your hopes of future blessedness" Vara replied, "I have been very wicked, but a great king from the other side of the skies sent his ambassadors with terms of peace. We could not tell for many years what these ambassadors wanted. At length Pomare obtained a victory, and invited his subjects to take refuge under the wing of Jesus, and I was one of the first to do so. *The blood of Jesus is my foundation.* I grieve that all my children do not love him. Had they known the misery we endured in the reign of the devil,

they would gladly take the gospel in exchange for their follies. Jesus is the best king; he gives a pillow without thorns." Being asked if he was afraid to die, he replied with great energy and beauty, "No! no! the canoe is in the sea, the sails are spread, she is ready for the gale. I have a good pilot to guide me, and a good haven to receive me. My outside man and my inside man differ. Let the one rot till the trumpet shall sound, but let my soul wing her way to the throne of Jesus."

Equally glorious and triumphant was the death of the blind warrior Me. Me had formerly been a celebrated warrior, the terror of all the neighbouring islands; but in a battle just before the introduction of Christianity he had lost his sight. He was one of the first converts to Christ at Raiatea. Having been diligent in attending the chapel and school, he had gained a large amount of scriptual knowledge. Missing him at public worship on returning from one of his voyages, and ascertaining that he was ill, Williams went to see him. On entering the blind man's hut, the missionary said, "Me, I am sorry to find you so ill." The gladdened sufferer exclaimed, "Is it you? Do I really hear your voice again before I die? I shall die happy now. I was afraid I should have died before your return." Williams then enquired what brethren visited him during his affliction. He named several, and added, "They do not come so often as I wish, yet I am not lonely, for I have frequent visits from God;—God and I were talking when you came in." On the missionary intimating that his days were numbered, and asking upon what his hopes rested, he said, "I have been in great trouble this morning, but I am happy now. I saw an immense mountain, with precipitous sides, up which I endeavoured to climb, but when I had attained a considerable height, I lost my hold, and fell to the bottom. Exhausted by perplexity and fatigue, I went to a distance, and sat down to weep; and while weeping I saw a drop of blood fall upon that mountain, and in a moment it was dissolved." Here he paused. Williams, anxious for his own idea of the figure, asked what construction he put upon it. He said, "That mountain was my sins, and the drop which fell upon it was one drop of the precious blood of Jesus, by which the mountain of my guilt is washed away." Williams was with him when he breathed his last. Just before his death he quoted many precious passages of Scripture; and having exclaimed with energy, "O, death, where is thy sting?" his voice faltered, his eyes became fixed, and his spirit departed to be with Jesus, whose blood had washed away the mountain of his guilt. "I retired," says Williams, "from the overwhelming and interesting scene, praying as I went that my end might be like his."

But the reception of Christianity improved also their temporal and social condition. It not only taught them how to prepare for the other

world, but also how to make a better use of this. They learned to read and write, and practice the arts of peace, many of them becoming skilful handicraftsmen. The dwellings of the people in their heathen state had been of the most miserable description, consisting, in almost every instance, of only one apartment, in which the whole family lived. These huts were covered with a thatched roof, and open at the sides. Williams was convinced that neither domestic comforts nor social morality could flourish in such dwellings. He resolved, therefore, to remedy this evil; and to incite the people to improve their dwellings, he built a beautiful house for himself. "It was my determination," he writes, "before I left England to have as respectable a dwelling house as I could erect; for the missionary does not go to barbarize himself, but to elevate the heathen; not to sink himself to their standard, but to raise them to his." Hence the beautiful house which he erected at Raiatea, with its Venetian blinds, and the tables, sofas, chairs, and bedsteads, all of his own make, surrounded with a garden, laid out with grass-plots, flower-beds, and gravel paths, presented to the natives such a picture of civilized life as they had never beheld before, and awakened within them a desire to provide better dwellings for themselves. In a few years men who had lived in the bush like brute beasts had now their neatly-plastered cottages embowered amid groves of bread fruit trees.

The preaching of the gospel diffused also a spirit of peace and good will among the various tribes who inhabited these islands, bringing to an end the bloody and cruel wars by which they had been hitherto desolated. One of their chiefs, in a speech to the inhabitants of Mangaia, stated "that he was formerly a conquered chief, and lived with his oppressed people in the mountains; but that now he possessed a large settlement of beautiful white houses by the sea-side, with a spacious chapel in the centre, and a missionary of Jesus Christ to teach him. My people can now go to sea to catch fish, or to the mountains to procure food, without the slightest fear; and we are now enjoying a state of peace and happiness, of which formerly we never heard." If the missionary enterprise effected among the heathen nothing more than such changes in their domestic and social condition as these, it would deserve the countenance and support of every lover of humanity.

To carry on his missionary operations in a manner commensurate with his enlarged ideas and designs, he conceived the idea of building a vessel in which to visit the stations already occupied, and to convey the gospel to distant islands. And while living at Raratonga he carried this design into execution. "After some deliberation, I determined," he says, "to build a vessel, and although I knew little of shipbuilding, had scarcely any tools to work with, and the natives were wholly unacquainted with mechanical arts,

I succeeded in about three months in completing a vessel of between seventy and eighty tons burthen." It was such a wonderful achievement to build a ship without any previous knowledge of the art of shipbuilding, and without tools, except such as he made himself from hoops, nails, and pieces of old iron, that some have doubted the truth of the account. On Williams's visit to England, when dining, on one occasion, with a party of naval gentlemen, a captain turned to him and said: "Well, Mr. Williams, I and several of my naval friends have read your book; and, if you will allow me to be candid, I may tell you that we can receive all except that story about the building of a ship; but this really exceeds our belief." A captain, however, who had seen the ship shortly after she arrived at Raiatea, happening to be present, described her to the company in such a manner as convinced and delighted them all. His fertility of resources and mechanical genius overcame all the difficulties of the undertaking; and this vessel, which he called the "*Messenger of Peace*," was successfully completed, and by her the teachers of the gospel were conveyed to many of those islands of the ocean. She proved indeed a "Messenger of Peace" to multitudes of people.

Having got this vessel, his vision of conquering other and distant lands for Christ could be realised. Writing, about this time, to Mr. Ellis, he says, "I trust that, having the means now in our own hands, we shall speedily extend our missions far and wide. My hands, my head, my heart, are now more full of missionary work than ever. My grasp is great and extensive, and the prospect of success encouraging. I'll get help from my brethren, if I can; if not, nothing shall deter me: I will work single-handed." Nothing can be more noble than the spirit which these words express. To a man possessing such a conviction of individual responsibility to God, and such daring courage, nothing which he undertakes for Christ is impossible, and no difficulties insuperable.

After many years spent in such labours, he resolved to return for a short time to his native land. This visit, which lay between his early labours and his tragical death, is full of interest. It was with no ordinary pleasure that he re-visited the land of his birth, and held fellowship again with those friends whom the hand of death had spared. But while in England Polynesia engaged his thoughts and energies; and by his fervid advocacy, from the pulpit and platform, through the length and breadth of England and Scotland, of their claims, he created a deeper interest in the missions here than had been felt before. Not the least of the services which he rendered to the cause of Christ during his sojourn was the publication of his "Missionary Enterprises." This de*lightful* narrative of missionary labours and successes was received

with universal pleasure. It was read by the high and low—the sovereign and the peasant. In the first five years after its publication 38,000 copies of it were sold. It is impossible to estimate the good which this book has done to the cause of religion. The then Archbishop of Canterbury is reported to have said, "that he esteemed it above all the books in his library, and that it afforded a stronger proof of the truth of Christianity than all the works on apologetics which had been written." He also raised £5,000 to purchase a missionary ship; in which, after spending four years in this country, he returned to labour and to die in Polynesia.

His design on returning was to clear the way to regions which the foot of missionary had never trod, and it was in the carrying out of this purpose that he came to his melancholy end. The vastness and danger of this work often oppressed his soul. The people to whom he was now going were of a different race and language, and more fierce and barbarous than any whom he had yet visited. Indeed, when he bade farewell, for the last time, as it proved, to his family and friends at Samoa, it seemed as if he had a presentiment of what was about to befall him. He had usually gone forth on his voyages buoyantly and cheerfully; but this time he went forth dejected and weeping. It was also one of his wife's latest and most urgent entreaties that he would not land at Erromanga.

Erromanga stands for ever associated with his tragical but glorious death, as Owyhee with that of Captain Cook. "How does the wave of Erromanga," says Richard W. Hamilton, "seem to redden with his blood and to murmur with his name; and its corals to pile their monument to the enterprise of his mission and the oblation of his death." Encouraged with the reception they had met with at another island of the same group, Williams, accompanied by two companions—Mr. Harris and Mr. Cunningham—ventured on shore, and walked a little distance inland in company with some of the natives. Mr. Cunningham, the only survivor, stated that as he was conversing with some of them, he heard a yell, and instantly Mr. Harris rushed out of the bush, but was overtaken and killed. He himself managed to get to the boat; but Williams was struck down by the club of a native just as he reached the water. The cruel savages beat his body with their clubs, and the children threw stones at it, until the water dashed red on the shore with the blood of their victim.

The intelligence of his death produced the utmost consternation and sorrow both in England and Polynesia. The native Christians, who had looked up to him as to a father, were almost inconsolable at the loss they had sustained. It seemed also so mysterious to the friends of missions that he should be removed just when he was opening a way for the gospel into Western Polynesia. But

God's ways are not as man's ways. By this event he taught his people in an impressive manner that His cause does not absolutely depend for success upon any man, however pious and devoted he may be. He raises him up, and uses him for a time, and then says,—"Go thy way, till the end be." But his work still goes on. Hence, instead of the death of Williams checking the progress of the missions in Polynesia, it gave to them a mighty impulse, by exciting a deeper and more wide-spread interest in them. Other labourers were sent to continue and extend the work in which he died: one island after another was converted; and even Erromanga was subdued by the love of Christ.

There is in this life a lesson of encouragement for all who are labouring in the cause of the Saviour; as it was not by means which are beyond the reach of others that Williams was so eminently successful. His success was by no means due to great intellectual power—for, though he was a man of good common sense, he was comparatively deficient in mental capacity and culture—but to his high moral qualities. Among these his persevering zeal was specially prominent. From the time when the grand idea of carrying the gospel to the numberless islands of Polynesia took hold of his soul, until his Master called him from his work, he never faltered in his resolution, nor paused in his career. Every power of his nature was bent to the accomplishment of his plans and the realisation of his ideas in action. Difficulties, which would have crushed men of ordinary resolution, were easily overcome by his energetic mind. His enthusiastic zeal led him to attempt such great things for God as amazed men of colder and more calculating natures. "With ordinary plans, efforts, or results, he never was, he never could be satisfied." All this zeal and energy sprang from and was supported by fellowship with heaven. The fire in his soul had been kindled at the altar of God; and by daily communion with the Lord was kept bright and burning. Rising early in the morning, he prepared for the labour of the day by earnest prayer; depending for succour not upon his own energies, but upon the blessing of God. And God was pleased to put high honour upon his servant, making him one of the most eminent instruments of advancing his kingdom which modern missions have produced; and enabling him to leave behind him a memory which all good men delight to cherish and which will be an incentive to holy enterprise and self-sacrificing labour in the cause of Christ as long as the world remains.

JOHN WATSON.

ART. VI.—DEAD TO THE LAW.

"Know ye not, brethren (for I speak to them that know the law), how that the law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth? For the woman which hath an husband is bound by the law to *her* husband so long as he liveth; but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of *her* husband. So then if, while her husband liveth, she be married to another man, she shall be called an adulteress: but if her husband be dead, she is free from that law; so that she is no adulteress, though she be married to another man. Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ; that ye should be married to another, *even* to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God. For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death. But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of spirit and not *in* the oldness of the letter."—Rom. vii., 1—6.

BEGINNING with the first verse of this section, we observe that there were two classes of persons in the Church at Rome, to both of whom the writer addresses himself, namely, Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians. They were all dear to him, and therefore are all saluted as "brethren," without distinction. It is supposed, however, that the parenthetical clause is meant as a compliment to the Jewish part of the Church familiar with the Mosaic law. Knowing the general character of Paul, we are willing to accept this notion. The words do not oblige us to receive it, especially if we drop the article out, which is wanting in the original. Then it would read, "I speak to them that know law," that live in refined society. Of course, the Roman Christians knew law as well as the Jews. Yet we know that the writer embraced every occasion of conciliating his own people. He never entirely threw off the religious nationality to which he was born. The Jewish element, ever and anon, betrays itself in his writings. The law as given by Moses is likely to be the law alluded to, for this was both uppermost and undermost in his mind. Also it must be the moral law that is meant. No law else could operate in the manner indicated in this chapter and throughout the epistle. Mere ritual or ceremony has no such power. Though it is moral law that is meant, yet it is that as coming from the pen of Moses. Paul never loses sight of the system in which he was trained and educated. "Behold thou art called a Jew, and restest in the *law*, and makest thy boast of God, and knowest his will, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed out of the *law*." —Rom. ii., 17, 18.

The position laid down at the head of this section is *that the law is commensurate with life, but has no force beyond it.*

"The law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth," or over a woman as long as she liveth. The term "man" must be taken as including both sexes. The example immediately following requires this. In respect of moral obligation there is neither male nor female. A distinction so accidental cannot affect the power of the law. In the case of either man or woman the force of the law ceases at the point of death. Besides the instance given in the text we may supply many others. We will suppose one. A youth calculating on long life makes choice of a vocation in which he intends to win an honest livelihood, and, if possible, an honourable name. That he may master the duties of his business he engages himself to serve seven years under a master, who on his part undertakes to make him proficient, and to requite his services with a salary agreed upon. Within one year after the indentures are signed the young man sickens and dies, leaving six years of his bond unhonoured. The master may feel aggrieved, and complain of the wrong done to him; but what redress is there? There is no bench of justice that can touch the case. Death is above the laws, and can cancel the most formal and solemn engagements. The master might die and leave his apprentice raw and unfinished for his work—short of the skill he engaged to help him to. Then the youth might complain of injustice, but to no purpose. The master cannot come out of his grave to complete his engagement. "The law hath dominion over a man" only "as long as he liveth." Neither master nor servant has any security against the law of mortality, which operates without respect to man's plans or purposes.

The relationship borrowed by Paul to illustrate his position is the strongest and most agreeable of all earthly ties, founded in love. It is a life-long bond, and cannot properly wear out or expire by the lapse of any number of years. "The woman which hath an husband is bound by the law to her husband as long as he liveth." It is equally true that the husband is bound by the law to his wife as long as *she* liveth. At least this is true viewed in the light of the original intent of the marriage law in its first appointment, apart from an unworthy permission introduced to obviate difficulty created by headstrong passion—"hardness of heart." Divorce is a disgraceful accident, which only comes in when the genuine law has been violated. The bond is mutual. But it suited the writer's purpose better to take a one-sided view of the obligation. Had he been inculcating the duties of the relationship he would not have failed to lay the burden of obligation as heavily upon the husband as upon the wife. As it is only for rhetoric or logic that he makes reference to the law of marriage, a little inexactness is of less consequence. To show the propriety of a new religious ceremony coming in, and

being cheerfully accepted, it suited his convenience to suppose the death of the husband, as leaving the woman at liberty for a second marriage. And yet this creates an inconvenience in another respect, which he is obliged to obviate by rhetorical device. He means the husband to stand for the law. He intends the wife to represent the parties to whom he was writing, or human beings in general, over whom the law holds a husband's authority. Then in the figure he says the husband is dead, but he does not carry this out in the application; there he says "*ye* are become dead," which is as good as saying that the wife is dead. To make his similitude complete, he should have said "the law, your husband, is dead and ye are free." He seems studiously to avoid saying this. To say that the law was dead might appear to him irreverent and disrespectful. The death of either party sufficing to dissolve the marriage bond, he sweeps round in the opposite direction, and saves himself from putting the case in that unworthy view. This is the best adjustment of the difficulty we can make. Figures are not sufficiently plastic to shape exactly to the truth which they are intended to delineate. If they agree to it in some main point, small incongruities must not be heeded.

Why is the obligation of the husband to fidelity ignored? Is not a man as much bound by the marriage contract as is a woman? The first deliverance on the subject in sacred writ is concerning *the man*. It binds him to a steady adherence to marriage duty. It makes the wife's claims paramount, authorizing him, if needful, to neglect other dear relations in preference to her. "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh." Gen. ii. 24. The original order was one man and one woman, and the bond was life-long. There was no promise made for another order of things. In process of time degeneracy brought in a different usage, but the Christian law approves that which was "from the beginning." Why then did not the Apostle say, "The man which hath a wife is bound by the law to his wife so long as she liveth?" We are bolder to ask this, since he begins with the man in the first verse, "The law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth." It was easy to go on and show that the man was bound, as he had just been named. Singularly enough the writer loses sight of him, and completes his illustration by affirming the woman's subjection! It has been supposed that this departure from the order, begun in the first verse, arises out of Oriental custom, which has relaxed the force of God's law, and given to the husband a power it denies to the wife. He may dismiss her, but she cannot dismiss him. This we submit, not for the reader's acceptance, but for consideration.

It is to be understood that *we* stand in the place of the wife.

The law is represented as the husband; such is the figure. In philosophical strictness we look higher than to the law. It is impersonal, and cannot receive from us any expression of love or act of obedience; nor can it make us any returns of favour or approval. Properly, it is to *God* that we are subject, under a legal covenant in the first instance; and that failing, then under a gracious economy, divinely contrived and provided. In the second state it is the same Person we are subject to, but upon a new bond of union. Neither is the old bond ruthlessly treated or dishonoured as if it had been wrong, or bad, or unsuitable. In man's primal state it was well adapted to him. In consequence of the fall it is abrogated. Its abrogation has taken place under such circumstances and conditions as effectually guard it from unworthy reflections. It opens no door to lawlessness. As a covenant it is set aside. As a rule of conduct it is still in force. There is perfect security for good behaviour, as we are "not without law to God, but under the law to Christ."

Our freedom from the law is indicated in the words, "Ye also are become dead to the law." For uniformity's sake it ought to have been put that the law was dead and we were free by consequence. It is thus that a widow's freedom comes. "If her husband be dead she is free." There being reasons for avoiding such a wording as that the law was dead, the same end is answered by putting it "ye are become dead." Being dead we are free. Death looses all fetters and makes an end of obligations. It is the living who are subjects and servants under bonds and engagements. Those who hold high position and enjoy distinguishing immunities are nevertheless subject to the laws of the living world. The dead are released. Their warfare is accomplished and their harness laid aside. Their term of servitude has expired. The grave is the house of liberty. "The small and great are there; and the servant is free from his master." Job. iii., 19.

We are free from its condemning power. We affirm this of those who accept Christ, and of none else. Till we give our hand to him in the gospel covenant, the law holds its right in us, and claims to inflict on us its penalty. If we persist in living in the house of bondage under the legal regimen, there is nothing for us but condemnation. Under the roof of the law sinners can only expect a hard life and hopeless death. The order of the house once broken there is no more peace. It is better for us to escape to the gospel house, whence the law cannot bring us back nor do us harm. Under safe-guard with Jesus we come under a new rule of justification. We hold by the skirts of our great law-fulfiller. Hidden behind him the law cannot touch us. Encompassed with the virtue of his atonement, and standing within the sanctuary of his blood, justice cannot reach us. If the law has anything to say about

damages or reparation due on our account, let it speak to him. He is able to answer it. It has no right to talk to us. We cannot hear it or take any notice of what it has to say. We are *dead* to the law. Let it deal with our living substitute. He will silence its threats, and maledictions, and menaces. It has no more right to trouble us than a creditor has to disturb his dead debtor in his grave, who has an able bondsman alive. The dead cannot be responsible for anything. The law can only treat with the living.

Again, our freedom has respect to

Its provoking power. To a depraved nature the law has no conservative or sanctifying virtue. Its tendency is rather to make bad worse, and to multiply transgression. "Moreover, the law entered that the offence might abound." Rom. v., 20. Finding man in a false condition under the dominating rule of sinful passions, it excites him to deeds of disobedience. The antinomian principle in the heart, aroused by sharp contact with the law, overleaps the fence and stalks forth on forbidden ground, committing all manner of excess. The law is not answerable for this. Its purpose is to restrain evil. The increase of sin is not its design, but an accidental effect. A healing power is wanted, distinct from the law, operating upon our disordered nature, and bringing it into a healthy condition. Then the law is no longer offensive or provoking. Conversion is the cure for its exasperating influence. The heart made better by grace ceases its rebellion. The opposition dies. It requires two sides to wage war. If "ye are dead to the law" it cannot provoke you, for the dead cannot be excited or prompted to action. It depends much on the character of the inward change which accompanies our justification whether or not the law exercises a disturbing power over us. If that change be deep and full, the power of the law is well broken. If it be superficial or partial, leaving dregs of evil in the heart, the law may be troublesome in that proportion. Its power can only be nullified by our turning away from legal considerations, and opening our hearts to the new motivity supplied in the gospel scheme.

Liberation from the law could not be effected in a lawless manner irrespective of rectitude. Hence the apostle is careful to add the needful explanation, "Ye are become dead to the law *by the body of Christ.*" By his crucified body our liberty came. A death was necessary to relax the hold which the law had upon us. The *law* could not die: it must be honoured. *We* could not die, and yet survive the penalty. The death due falling upon us would have been our undoing. If we could have exhausted our punishment, and looked up again to life and happiness, interposition might have been forborne, consistently with our ultimate good. This being impossible, the body of Christ came between us and the

penalty due. We are "reconciled in the body of his flesh through death." Col. i. 22. His body was "prepared" for this purpose. "We are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all." Heb. x. 10. "Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree." 1 Pet. ii. 24. We died by proxy. As the *law* could not die, and Jesus would not have *us* die, he died for us. Can justice desire more? The rigorous law that has us in its terrible grasp relaxes its hold of us at the foot of the cross.

The dissolution of one covenant is effected with a view to the formation of another. "That ye should be married to another, even to him that is raised from the dead." The old bond being annulled or expired, there is freedom to enter into a new one. It is commonly thought that first marriages are the most natural, agreeable, and happy, as they are the first promptings of love, when the heart is young and rich in affection; whereas, second marriages are more matters of policy, convenience, or interest. Well, it may be either way. A first marriage is sometimes unhappy, it being discovered that the parties are not suited to each other, which is the case of us in relation to the law. It is, therefore, a great mercy that a death has occurred, dissolving the bond. The second marriage, which is proposed and urged on our attention, has infinitely more love and grace about it than the first had. It promises happier life, and greater wealth and honour. The way is perfectly open to it now that Christ has become the end of the law. There are no barriers in the road except such as we may create by our own wilfulness and unwillingness to be won. We must forget the former things, and part with our legal notions. No lingering or hankering after the law, as our ground of trust, is consistent with the new arrangement. It is done with entirely in that view. And we must feel and believe that it is honourably dispensed with. It is not by a doubtful or discreditable divorce that we are free, but by a *death* publicly declared and acknowledged. There need be no conscientious scruples about the propriety of taking such a step. It may be done in open day, and in the face of heaven and earth. There is no ground for shame.

We go a step further. Not only we *may* be married according to the new covenant, but we *ought* to be. But for the serious and awful power of free-will that we have about us it might be put more strongly—we *must* be married again. We forbear saying it so forcibly, as there can be no violation of the right of personal consent. At any rate, we ought to become Christians. If we do not we will be liable to a penalty as severe as if the old bond still held us. We are not in like condition with the widow who is free to be affianced again, or free to remain single, and without fault either way. She may live her own master, and pass her remaining

days in grave and dignified widowhood, without doing wrong or losing ground in public opinion. Our case is different. There is no such thing as moral widowhood free from both law and gospel. The first bond is only dissolved as the second is accepted. Our responsibility to God cannot be laid aside. In consideration of our sinful condition he has accommodated us by the introduction of a system of grace adapted to us. If that is not accepted we must remain under the old rule, and perish.

"Even to him who is raised from the dead." This clause looks back to some earlier expressions about the husband being dead, and his authority ceasing in consequence. The death of Christ serves to loosen the law's hold of us; and his resurrection, whilst it shows the satisfactoriness of his atoning work, renders him eligible to take the place of the abolished law, and exercise over us a gracious rule. His claim is beyond dispute. To this end he both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord. Owing to his superiority over death the contract reaches into and overspreads a coming eternity. "I will betroth thee unto me for ever." He will endow his church with life everlasting. "Because I live ye shall live also."

The happiest results are consequent upon this union—"that we should bring forth fruit unto God." The church, as a fertile vine, brings forth much fruit by which the Father is glorified. Our prayers, and praises, and holy musings; our tender charities within and beyond the household of faith; our upright, just, and equitable proceedings in the market and in the world; in a word, all our actions and movements bearing the impress of rectitude, —these are the offspring of grace. If we are asked concerning these, how we came by them, we are ready to answer: they are the children which God hath graciously given to us in the new covenant of grace. We acknowledge him to be their source, and we make him their end. "Thou also hast wrought all our works in us." Isa. xxvi. 12.

The fifth and sixth verses are a contrast between the first and second marriage. As far as good result is concerned the first is a failure. Instead of promoting our happiness and making us conformable to the divine will, it only reveals our misery and provokes us to fresh acts of disobedience. We must either say that the union is abortive, or if productive, the offspring is dead-born, or doomed to an early grave. In a sinful world like ours nothing lives where the law holds sway. Tied to it we can do nothing but dead works. Our fairest actions have a deadly element in them: "What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death." Rom. vi. 21. Such fruit is worse than barrenness. Better than this could not be

expected. Under a broken law, and with a depraved heart, what else could come? Could we be better, in our outward living, than our minds and motives? "As he thinketh in his heart, so is he." Prov. xxiii. 7. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh." John iii. 6. "So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God." Rom. viii. 8. The law could not stir degenerate man to noble action. Its influence was rather to irritate him to sin. The motions of sins were by the law. "The strength of sin is the law." 1 Cor. xv. 56. The more the law acts the more vigorously sin works in the members, which become tools of evil. The sooner such a connection is broken the better.

The contrast to this is cheering. "But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not *in* the oldness of the letter:" "delivered from the law," or, better, "*loosed* from the law," as it is the same word so rendered in the second verse. Also we accept the marginal reading, "being dead to that wherein we were held," as preferable to the textual, "that being dead wherein we were held." The ablest scholars adopt it into the text. The difference of the two readings lying in a single letter, and that also a vowel letter, mistake was easy. Besides, such pains having been taken immediately before, to avoid saying that the law was dead, it is not probable that the author would so soon forget himself, and carelessly dictate to his clerk an expression about which he had been so scrupulous.

"That wherein we were held" was the law, by which we are held no longer when we accept of Christ. We were held—retained as in durance or bondage. We lived the life of prisoners in a dark house, a gloom overhanging us in all we did. There is a happy alteration now. Whether we compare our new life with our life of open sin, or with the Pharisaic religion we once followed, the difference is as broad as between a prison and a free home. We serve God in newness of spirit. Our sins being forgiven, brings us a sweet enlargement. The love of Christ dictates our obedience—not the dread of penalty. We work *from* life, not *for* life. We do our religious duties, not that we may be forgiven, but because we have been forgiven. We do not follow the law-book with its harsh orders, but the promptings of a "free spirit" of love, which knows no weariness in its efforts to please him who espoused us.

To the readers of these lines we say, in conclusion, let us strive to enjoy the privileges to which we were born from above. Let us cherish the spirit of power and of love, and of a sound mind. We are nobly married. Although our husband is of a nobler stock than we, and all the wealth and glory of the house came by him, it is his wish that we should feel ourselves one with him,

l dismiss all abject fear from our hearts. "And it shall be at t day, saith the Lord, that thou shalt call me Ishi (my husband), l shalt call me no more Baali (my lord). Hos. ii. 16.

T. G.

ART. VII.—LORD MACAULAY'S ESTIMATE OF WILLIAM III.

is not very difficult to see the qualities which attracted Lord Macaulay in William III., or those opposite defects in Penn ch repelled him. The pleasure of giving the Whigs an heroic estor no doubt entered for something into the historian's esti- te; but, above all, he would sympathise with the quiet strength ı silent, undemonstrative man, and he felt a certain repulsion, a ırgeois feeling of distrust, for the courtier-like graces which rmed their contemporaries in Churchill and Penn. Of the two lts, it is certainly the less to have admired a hard, unamiable man his heroic strength of purpose and self-command, than to have : all sight of a hero's greatness in disgust at his faults of manner. ıs curious to reflect that a Protestant and constitutional people 'e been more lenient to the memory of Charles II. than to that :he Prince of Orange, and that the single massacre of Glencoe uld have left a deeper stain than the persistent persecution of Cameronians. The king, who was English born, and fed his ;s in the Mall, might outrage decency and humanity with ɔunity; but the one great crime of the Dutchman, who drank lands and disliked mixed society, has been written in letters brass. The reprobation is not undeserved. The particular ne on which it has lighted would be viewed leniently in any ıntry but England. Suchet and Victor committed military ssacres of far deeper dye in the Peninsula. A few years later than affair of Glencoe order was enforced in the Cevennes by means ıpared with which the extirpation of a single clan is merciful. t, as native of Holland and king of England, William ought to 'e had a deeper feeling for law, if not for mercy. Unhappily absorbing passion, the love of power, made him little scrupulous ıut means. At a critical moment of his country's history he had ınived at, if he had not concerted, the murder of the De Witts. ıat he did to remove rivals he would naturally consent to in ler to extirpate enemies. The question as to the actual civili- ion of the Highlands may be dismissed for a moment. ere can be little doubt that William, rightly or wrongly, re- rded the clans as savage. That halo of romance which has been

thrown around them since 1745 did not then exist; they were known of in England, through the report of Lowlanders, as the despised and hated of a people whom English arrogance in turn hated and despised. The influences of Stair and Breadalbane favoured these misapprehensions for private purposes. In the case of Ireland, which he had visited, William was larger-minded and more liberal than his people and parliament. In the case of the Highlands, which he only knew by report, he was swayed by the lowest prejudices of the worst men. It is possible, as Lord Macaulay says, that his assent to the massacre was given without reflection, though it can hardly have been given ignorantly. But the whole horror of the charge against him is really summed up in this, that he treated the lives of men and women as a question of official routine, and signed them away in the belief that he was technically justified, but on no higher ground than political expediency. His conduct afterwards showed that he was displeased with the barbarous circumstances which attended the execution of his warrant, but felt no remorse or regret for the orders given.

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Teacher's Assistant and Bible Class Magazine. January and February. Published a month in advance. Price one penny. London: George Lamb, Conference Offices, Sutton-street, Commercial-road, E.

We learn with pleasure that this new magazine is a decided success, and commands a large circulation. Nor is this surprising, for the magazine meets a felt want, and is conducted with marked ability. The "Scripture Lessons" are everything that could be desired — plain, pointed, practical, suggestive, fitted to open up the meaning of God's Word to the minds of children, and to impress it on their hearts. The "Homiletical Notes" connected with the lessons are also very valuable, and may be turned to excellent practical use in the pulpit. Our Sunday-school teachers and local preachers owe a large debt of gratitude to Mr. Macpherson for supplying them with such an invaluable "Assistant" in their work of faith and labour of love. We give this new magazine a cordial welcome, and trust it will become the text-book of every Sunday-school in the Connexion.

Cædman; the Anglo-Saxon Poet. London: Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria Lane.

This is an unpretending, but interesting and instructive monograph on Cædman, the Anglo-Saxon poet. The few known facts of Cædman's life are here gathered into biographic form, as a fitting introduction to the digest of his writings with which this little volume is principally occupied. To persons interested in tracing the mighty flood of English literature to its remote and early springs, this book will have peculiar attraction.

The Drink Traffic; A Stumbling-block to every Kind of Good. A Sermon by the Rev John Vaughan. London: G. Lamb.

An impressive sermon on one of the greatest evils of the day.

THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR

ART. I.—REMINISCENCES OF DR. CHALMERS.

No. II.

ONE dull, cold winter Sabbath morning in the year 1845 or 6, the Meadows—as one of the beautiful suburbs of Edinburgh is called—presented an unusually lively appearance. Numbers of people were wending their way in one direction; that direction being from, not to, the city, as the wont there is on Sabbath mornings and afternoons, which are the times of the two diets of public worship. It is evidently something thought to be important, that has been efficient enough to turn the tide of church-goers into an outflow, instead of an inflow, relatively to that city of big churches and great preachers. This idea is confirmed by the vigorous manner in which the pedestrians are posting along; an elasticity of step, an earnestness of face, and an expectancy of eye, combining to give sure indication that that on-pressing throng are not beating the air, but accomplishing a purpose which involves some high and rare gratification. Yon carriages on the Drive—as the Meadows' coach-road is called—are obviously going with the stream, and seeming to be resolved not to be too late; for fine ladies and gentlemen *can* lay aside *ennui* and *insouciance*, when there is anything of a *very* attractive and gratifying kind to be had without much trouble. What's in the wind? Something of great importance must be up! Is there aught on fire? The answer to these queries is:—A great intellect and heart are going to be up, in altitudes which the greatest only can reach. A great preacher is going to be on fire. In a word, *Dr. Chalmers is going to preach*! It is no puffing or painting to affirm that, the tocsin of war, or of fire, could not produce a more sharply defined sensation in the good folks of Edinburgh, than did an information to the effect that Dr. Chalmers was to preach at a specified time in their midst; for

among other things which gave distinctiveness and prestige to the Doctor's history, and evidence of his status being above the level of ordinary greatness, was the exceptional fact that he had honour in his own country, and among his own kin.

It had become generally known that, on the morning in question, Dr. Chalmers was to preach in the Free Church at Morningside, where at that time, and thereafter, to the end of his life, he was a resident. But it had *not* become generally known that only those were to be admitted who carried with them tickets to that effect. The fact that, although the circumstance of the Doctor's having to preach had not been *made* public, it had, notwithstanding, *become* public, is an incident more than a little suggestive of the influence of the man, and significant of the popular favour and universal fame of the pulpit orator. The church was not a large one, and must not be crowded; the regulations *pro. tem.* were stringent, and stamped with finality; so that, as might naturally be supposed, many faces gathered blankness, and some, no doubt, blackness, when it was found that the door was shut, and not to be opened, except to the few whose cards, like Christian's "roll," contained the magic of "open, sesame," and procured admittance to what many a one that day—as we ourselves can testify—found to be no less than "a little heaven below." Patrician and plebeian alike, had to face about and turn their backs upon an expectancy which, like angels' visits, came only sometimes.

Now, having our puny and insignificant selves, "got in," and got comfortably seated, how satisfied and self-complacent we feel! whilst every face our eyes light upon seems to reflect, as in a glass, our own pleasurable emotions. If those who shall get in at the Marriage Feast should feel as full of their own happiness, and as empty of concern for them in the "outer darkness," as did we getters-in at Morningside Free Church on that memorable Sabbath morn, they would thereby show—what will never be—that flesh and blood *can* enter the Kingdom of Heaven. But let it not be forgotten that it was *Chalmers* we had gone to hear, and if anything could have justified, or rather, excused, our pathy for ourselves, and our a-pathy for our less fortunate neighbours, it was that simple fact.

But, hush! there's the Doctor! Yes, there he is, with his gown and bands, and hurried step, and eyes buried in a Scotch mist, and the minister's man, who goes up the pulpit steps to shut the door when divinity has got in. The noble head bends for a few moments before Him that sitteth between the cherubim, and then it lifts itself up "broad as a shield," and sends down a majesty of look which we only remember, but cannot put into words, upon the expectantly silent, and perfectly still, auditory. *Is* it Chalmers?

query which no stranger with seeing eyes in his head, and a iving mind behind *them*, would never think of asking, after ig once seen that grand face, with its crowning dome, and its touched with intelligence (the Scotch mist notwithstand- and the big soul filling every feature, as the light of the ond its facets, and all the man within girding up his loins ittle with error, and to run with truth. *Is* it Chalmers? *isn't* it? "None but himself could be his parallel," or te down upon us a presence like *that*! If your "seven s" could not have seen it to be Chalmers, an "eighth" would inly not have helped you to the intuition. Any one might have as an auld wife from John O'Groat's, or somewhere, once ay, "I war shure it war Chaumers fra his pow and een." It o mere "picture of a gentleman," such as one ordinarily in the pulpit, that was before you, but a man of marked iduality and mighty look, compounded of humility and leur. In that immediate atmosphere you felt, as it were, ged into the same image, or mesmerized into *rapport* with entral greatness. This majesty of personal presence was a sermon. The eyes upturned, Godward;—yes, those eyes sed with a nebulous sheen, and wandering away into ensities of vacancy,—were themselves a sermon; and made you contemplative and sublime by an irresistible spiritual tion. It was Luther's face, with Milton's expression, and mers' "dome of thought, and palace of the soul," where the himself resides, and in this case very specially so. The iognomy spake true, for in this great Scotch preacher and ogue there was a Lutheran force of character, a Miltonic mity of conception, with idiosyncrasies of mind forming an iduality, altogether his own. Whence the majesty of that l expression, which, when lighting up with thought and ion, did indeed "gather splendour till it grew sublime," and down upon you like "a star full orbed"? Whence that st sensibly visible consciousness of the unseen, and that us absence from the minds of all but God and infinity? For y feature of that face seemed to be symbolic of the high and One who inhabiteth eternity. In a word, whence those fixed tudes of thought of the man? Was it that—

> "The skirts of some forgotten life
> Trailed noiseless at his side,
> . . . . . .
> Was it a dim remembered dream
> Or glimpse through œons old?"

here possibly some substance of truth—though "fathoms n," and utterly beyond our diving—in Wordsworth's beautiful ? In his Intimations of Immortality, that poet says—

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home:
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!"

Yea; and *after* that period, too, if we will let it. A chief result of true greatness of mind, especially where it is influenced by the truer greatness of Christianity, is, that we *become* as little children. Heaven seemed to "lie about" Chalmers in a superlatively beautiful and grand manner; and you instinctively felt that where he was, there "divinity stirred;" and that there, a "heavenly treasure" in forms of the beautiful, the good, and the true, was present, "leavening the whole lump" of the man. The people of Verona, when they saw Dante on the streets, used to say "See, there is the man that was in Hell!" And we have no doubt but the people of Edinburgh generally, with ourselves, when they saw Chalmers on the streets, had they given a voice to their thoughts, would have said, "There goes the man who has seen heaven." In truth, personal nearness to a man so "deeply interfused" with the divine, and of a moral stature that reached the sky, seemed mysteriously to bring others themselves "quite on the verge of heaven." We can, at all events, bear ocular testimony to the fact, that the Dr. never appeared on the streets of Edinburgh but he was the focus of all the attention and observations which were there in exercise at the time. Had the "Man in the Moon" himself come down to get a little fresh air, and a few draughts of *aqua pura*, he could not well have drawn towards him a more lively interest. "See! there's Dr. Chalmers"—or "Chaumers," as the case might be—was being whispered on every hand; and, like a "burning-glass," the "prodigy" focussed the light of all eyes till he vanished in the distance, or was lost in the crowd. In fact, this man *was* as wonderful a "phenomenon" as Edinburgh had ever seen.

There must, now, have been something *very* extraordinary about him to draw together and move the masses as he could do; there must have been something extraordinarily attractive about him to draw together, and move to the foundations, the *kinds* of men who flocked to hear him; there must have been something of rare balance and completeness—some "touch of nature," so exceptionally developed, as to amount to preternature in the make and constitution of him, to cast abroad, as he could do, the spell of a potency which made itself felt with apparently equal effect among *all* classes, and seemed never to return unto him void,

whensoever or wheresoever he chose to put it forth. As in physics, so in morals, the law of mutual affinity generally exhibits itself, but in small and distinctly marked spheres. But in Chalmers the affinities not only seemed to be universal, but also to elicit a universal response in the breasts of others. The force of "natural selection," so to speak, in him touched the world at every point, and drew all men unto it. The magnet was large, and the potency strong enough to move society as a whole; whilst the units, like atoms of steel, rushed to it by the very law of irresistible attraction. Chalmers was a central man; a very sun among the children of men; or, at least, a Hesperus that "rode brightest" in the moral hemisphere.

In that small church at Morningside, we observed on the morning in question, two lords of session, the present earl of Dalhousie, then lord Panmure, and many others besides, gentle and simple; so fixed, by the way, in their places, that had the emperor of all the Russias come seeking a seat, he would not have got one; for a greater than czars is there, and the opportunity "to catch a flying joy" must not be sacrificed, at any price. There was also present a goodly sprinkling of advocates, and of *littérateurs*, men not to be "pleased with a rattle, and tickled with a straw," nor drawn from their own churches—if they had any—to listen to the "petits riens" (little nothings) of a stereotyped eloquence. How many "would-be's" went away that couldn't get in, we know not. But, attention! The preacher is about to engage in prayer. We all rise to our feet—for they *stand* at prayer in Scotland—and the great preacher in the pulpit begins to address the Greater Presence in which he lived and moved and had his being. Not invariably, but frequently, the Doctor had his prayer in manuscript, before him; not being, perhaps, "much acquaint with conceived prayer," as Baillie of Jerviswoode has recorded of the celebrated Dr. William Twisse. The prayer was good, but, as a whole, not remarkable. It was reverent, devotional, thoughtful, comprehensive, and short. We think the manuscript was there, but are not certain. For our own part, we never thought the Doctor excelled in prayer. There appeared to be no special gift in that direction; or, if there had ever been, it had become dried and minified by being wrapped with paper. We have heard infinitely smaller men pray much better; neither the sentiment nor the phrasing being anything like what one would have expected from such a soul, and such a mouth, as belonged to Thomas Chalmers.

The text was, "Take heed how ye hear;" and the sermon was probably a "crack" one; for we ourselves heard it no less than three times, at different places, by no means very distant from each other. But it was a good and grand one; and such a sermon

will bear to be re-heard. Socrates goes the length of saying that, what is well said, cannot be said too often. But be this as it may, we feel satisfied that the "same sermon" of Dr. Chalmers could never have grown too old, to be grand and effective. The "same" sun rises every morning, and the same heavens daily declare the glory of God. Genius is like nature, and can never become stale and wearisome. Of course, the sermon was read; but not as John Foster—whose "words fell frozen to his feet"—would have read it; and not as Robert Hall, either, would have read it—if he *could* have performed such a task—for Hall had not the *manner of utterance* that made the very *reading* of Chalmers a power and glory. No, the sermon was read as *Chalmers* could do it; and yet, strange to say, his reading had many imperfections. It was school-boy-like, and hurried. The eyes were mostly rivetted to the paper, and the finger traced almost every line. The speech was guttural and harsh; the enunciation seemed to be under no proper regulation, and the saliva flew abroad (but this was only the spray which the "wind of prophecy" had raised from the sea of thought from which it blew), whilst the pronunciation was coarse, and broadly provincial. Great drawbacks, these, obviously! *But*, it was *Chalmers* that read; and the drawbacks, after all, were but as the spots on the sun; as the dust on the cathedral organ-pipes; as cobwebs in the path of a giant girded to run a race. Voice, manner, syllabling, and reading, were all bad; but yet, there was an *effect* that was wonderful; the oratory, after all, being sublime as the Falls of Niagara with the thunder and the rainbows, and the thousand spray-drops gleaming in the sunbeams. This is paradoxical enough, we know. How *could* it be? Suffice it to say, however, that it *was*; but you can never understand *how* it was, unless you had personally witnessed the thing for yourselves, and *felt* it. HE who made him, and fashioned him round about, would seem to have written over all minor defects and deficiencies,—Thy glory shall be "clearer than the noon-day; thou shalt shine, thou shalt be as the morning."

Who cared for the stammering and the splutter! These were nothings in *that* connection. It was the glorious things which were *said*, together with the *inspiration* that said them, and the speaking *personnel* of the man, wherein the great strength of the matter lay. The mere *way* in which the utterances were given forth was objectionable enough; but, be the element of manner never so important, it is always the matter which is the principal thing. In the case before us it was the Matter and the Man that made the impression. Chalmers, as a preacher, was eloquent, irresistible, and unrivalled, in spite of his manner; a fact, surely, not a little significant of his *power*. A marked speciality of his public exercitations consisted in the breadth of their phychological

ge, which impinged with almost equal force upon the three linal departments of our higher nature—the logical, the im- native, and the passional. Archimedes said, "Give me a place stand upon, and I will move the world." Chalmers found a ce to stand on—to wit, the Truth—and *moved* the world. placed himself, as a Christian philosopher and minister of the w Covenant, with one foot, as it were, on the sea of our emotive ure, and the other on the solid ground of our intellective cer- ties, and lifting up his hand with all the authority of moral ver, swore by Him who liveth, that Truth and the Soul only are at. We repeat it:—his fulcrum was the intellectual-emotional stitution of man, and his lever the truth as it is in Nature and Jesus. To him Christianity was the highest style of truth, or ine ideas in human words—heavenly treasure in earthen vessels. great saying of Sir William Hamilton's was, that there is noth- great on earth but man, and nothing great in man but mind; ilst a great addendum of Chalmers' was, there is nothing *so* at in mind as the assimilated principles and implanted hopes of Gospel of the grace of God. The grandeur of Chalmers as a man, l his efficiency as a preacher and writer, had their fountain in a fold source; to wit, in a subjective greatness of soul-attribute, the one hand; and in the greatness of his faith in the objective lities of religion, on the other. In a word, he "shone" with own light, and "burned" with the borrowed light of assimi- ed revealed truth. There is a dictum recorded of the celebrated orge Stephenson's, to the effect that coal is bottled sunshine. d, analogously to appropriate the figure, Dr. Chalmers was tainly as much like "bottled Godshine" as anything we ever t with in the phenomena of this mighty and mysterious verse. He looked like it, he sounded like it, he wrote like it, l he lived like it. And *is* not Man made in the image of God? ne one says, "It is the soul that makes the body rich;" and here not a sense in which the soul may be said to keep the body rm? Certain are we that the soul-heat radiated from the acher at Morningside, on the Sabbath-morning we speak of, ; only made our heart burn with us while we were in the church; t *so* warmed us, that after we had come out, our very body lf, felt warm too; or—which amounts to the same thing— med not to feel a cold, that was certainly intense enough not be resisted by anything less efficient than the power which mind has over the body. Of a truth, the "bottled" power— had left behind,—shining and burning through its "tene- nt of clay," *could* warm the emotions into the very veins, and d them flashing and flushing into the face, as telegrams to tell an inner man, and of the influence of *that* upon the outer man. s; Chalmers could warm the whole man; and warm him up *so*,

that neither a cold day, nor a cold world, could soon cool him down again, and take the communicated "shine" out of him.

The following paragraphs, taken from the Doctor's Bridgewater treatise, on the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral Constitution of Man, may serve, on the one hand, to indicate his general style of composition; and, on the other, to illustrate the power of personal presence, and of an association of ideas therewith connected, to influence thought and feeling, and estimation of character, in relation to those with whom we are brought into contact. The physics of Chalmers, at least in their zenith-region, gave one, as already remarked, a vivid idea of the metaphysics; the very matter of him seeming to be shaped and stamped with the very spirit of him. Nay, the "handwriting" of the soul so burned along the walls of his body, especially, we say, on the watch-tower, that he who ran might read and understand it:—

"A philosophy of taste has been founded on this contemplation, and some have contended that both the beauty and the sublimity of sounds are derived from their association with moral qualities alone. . . . But the same philosophy has been extended to sights as well as sounds. The interchange of mind with mind is not restricted to language. There is an interchange by looks also; and the ever varying hues of the mind are represented, not by the complexion of the face alone, or of the composition of the features, but by the attitude and gestures of the body. It is thus that human sentiment may come to be expressed by the colour and form, and even the motion, of visible things; by a kindred physiognomy for all the like emotions on the part of the inferior animals, nay, by a certain countenance or shape in the objects of mute and unconscious nature. It is thus that a moral investment sits on the aspects of the purely material world, and we accordingly speak of the modesty of the violet, the innocence of the lily, the commanding mountain, the smiling landscape. Each material object has its character, as simply set forth in the beautiful illustrations of Mr. Alison; and so, to the poet's eye, the whole panorama of nature is one grand personification, lighted up throughout by consciousness and feeling. This is the reason why, in all languages, material images and moral characteristics are so blended and identified. It is the law of association which thus connects the two worlds of sense and of sentiment. Sublimity in the one is the counterpart to moral greatness in the other; and beauty in the one is the counterpart to moral delicacy in the other. Both the graceful and the grand of human character are as effectually embodied in the objects and scenery of nature as in those immortal forms which have been transmitted by the hand of sculptors to the admiration of distant ages. It is a noble testimony to the righteousness of God that the moral and the external loveliness are

thus harmonized, as well as the wisdom which has so adapted the moral and the material system to each other, that supreme virtue and supreme beauty are as one.

"And we may here remark a certain neglect of external things and external influences, which, however enlightened or transcendentally rational it may seem, is at variance with truth of principle and sound philosophy. We would instance the undervaluing of the natural signs in eloquence, although their effect makes all the difference in point of impression between spoken and written language, seeing that, superadded to articulate utterance, the eye, and the intonations, and the gestures, also serve as so many signals of conveyance for the transmission of sentiment from one mind to another. It is thus that indifference to manner, or even to dress, may be as grievous a dereliction against the real philosophy of social intercourse, as indifference to the attitude and the drapery of figures would be against the philosophy of the fine arts. Both proceed on the forgetfulness of that adaptation, in virtue of which materialism is throughout instinct with principle, and both in its colouring and forms gives forth the most significant expressions of it.

"Before quitting this subject we remark that it is no proof against the theory which makes taste a derivative from morality, that our emotions of taste may be vivid and powerful, while our principles of morality are so weak as to have no ascendant or governing influence over the conduct. This is no unusual phenomenon of our mysterious nature. There is a general homage rendered to virtue in the world; but it is the homage more of a dilletante than of an obedient and practical devotee. This is not more surprising than that the man of profligate habits should have a tasteful admiration of sacred pictures and sacred melodies, or that, with the heart of a coward, he should nevertheless catch the glow of at least a momentary inspiration from the music of war and patriotism. It seems the effect and evidence of some great moral derangement that there should be such an incongruity in subjective man between his taste and his principles, and the evidence is not lessened, but confirmed, when we observe a like incongruity in the objective nature by which he is surrounded—we mean between the external mental and the external material world. We have only to open our eyes and see how wide, in point of loveliness, the contrast or dissimilarity is, between the moral and the material of our actual contemplation, the one coming immediately from the hand of God, the other tainted and transformed by the spirit of man. We believe, with Alison and others, that, to at least a very great extent, much of the beauty of visible things lies in association. And, again, the question may be put—whence is it that the moral picturesque in our world of sense, as it beams upon us from its

woods, and its eminences, and its sweet recesses of crystal stream, or grassy sunshine, should yield a delight so unqualified, while the primary moral characteristics, of which there are but the imagery or the visible representation, should, in our world of human spirits, be so wholly obliterated, or, at least, so wofully deformed? Does it not look as if a blight had come over the face of our terrestrial creation, which hath left its materialism in a great measure untouched, while it hath inflicted on man a sore and withering leprosy? Do not the very openness and benignity which sit in the aspect of nature reproach him for the cold, and narrow, and creeping jealousies that be at work in his own selfish and suspicious bosom; and most impressively tell the difference between what man is and what he ought to be?"

JABEZ COLE.

(To be continued.)

ART II.—IRELAND, PAST AND PRESENT.

ST. PATRICK.

HISTORY is a record of Providence. Ireland's early history, like that of most other countries, is wrapped in mystery and distorted by legend. One thing is certain, it was inhabited by some CELTIC tribes one thousand years before the birth of Christ. The Romans designated it by the appellations *Juverna*, *Hibernia*, and *Britannica Minor*. It was also named *Scotia*, or Scotland; but this appellation was transferred to Caledonia in the eleventh century, and Ireland resumed its ancient name. The term *Ireland* is derived from IRENE, which, according to some philologists, means "The sacred Isle," by others "The Western Isle." The former definition is appropriate in reference to the piety of its inhabitants during a period of its early history—the latter is correct, as descriptive of its geographical position in reference to Europe and Great Britian. A comparison of the language of the ancient Celts, as found on monumental stones, with that of Phœnicians, proves an identity of race and their having had a common origin. The Phœnicians were characterised by a love for commerce and planting colonies. Tyre and Carthage, founded by the Phœnicians, are remarkable illustrations. The former city, from the statement of Ezekiel xxvii., maintained mercantile relations with every country of distinction known to the Jewish Seer. The latter one rivalled ancient Rome for centuries. Phœnician colonies were planted in Spain, in Cornwall, and eventually in Ireland. The

colonists brought the arts of civilization with them. The Irish Celts possessed a written language for many years before there was one in England. The first race of kings known with any degree of certainty was descended from Milesius, who headed a Celtic colony from Spain. From him the Irish in the southern provinces are frequently called Milesians. This people for ages were characterized for robustness of physical frame, pride of ancestry, elevation of imagination, and love of military glory. It appears from Romans xv. 24, 28, that the gospel had reached Spain in the days of Paul, and many in the Roman legions sent to conquer Britain had, like "Cornelius of the Italian band," embraced Christianity. Many of these Christian soldiers preferred remaining in England and Caledonia, rather than return to their southern climes, and laid the foundation of the Culdee Churches, which exercised such a beneficial influence for years in Britain.

A Culdee church was planted in Bonavern, in Scotland, now called Kilpatrick. In A.D. 372, a child named SUCCAT was born of parents who were members of this church. Calpurnus, Succat's father, was one of its deacons. His mother, Conchessa, was not only a truly pious woman, but possessed a most acute and vigorous mind. She prayerfully instilled into Succat's mind the leading events connected with the life of Christ, with the cardinal doctrines of the Bible—man's ruin by the fall, and his recovery through the merits of Christ; but he cared for none of these things. He preferred amusement with thoughtless companions. In course of time Calpurnus, with his wife and family, went to reside in Armonica (now Bretagne) in France. One day as young Succat (afterwards designated St. Patrick) was playing with two of his sisters upon the beach, a party of pirates carried off the three children and sold them in Ireland to the chieftan of a pagan clan. Patrick, *i.e.*, Succat, was sent into the fields to feed swine. Whilst alone amidst the vast forests tending the herds, he remembered the lessons of Divine truth taught him by his mother. Without the instruction of a priest, or any kind of religious teacher, the spirit of God impressed a deep sense of his guilt upon his heart. He fell upon his knees, confessed his sins to God in that dark heathen land, and in humble faith looked for mercy to that Saviour of whom his dear mother had so often told him. He imagined he felt the arms of a father uplifting his prostrate body from the earth, and breathing into his ear words of pardon and of peace. The finger of God had written the Gospel in all its power and consolation upon the tablets of his heart; and St. Patrick was "born from above." In after years, referring to this spiritual change, he says:—"I was sixteen years old and knew not the true God. In that strange land the Lord opened my unbelieving eyes, and, although late, I called my sins to mind, and was converted with my whole heart. The Lord,

against whom I had sinned, regarded my low estate, had pity upon my youth and ignorance, and consoled me as a father consoles his children." These words of the youthful slave and swineherd show us the Christianity that converted the pagan Irish in the fourth century. They also furnish a complete refutation of the allegations of Romanists and Ritualistic Protestants that Celestine, Bishop or Pope of Rome, ordained St. Patrick as bishop for Ireland. We shall see, before this series of papers is finished, that the church government of St. Patrick was not Episcopal in any respect, and did not participate of monachism. Patrick further describes his religious experience: "The love of God increased more and more in my heart. The Holy Spirit urged me to pray to such a degree that I poured forth as many as a hundred prayers in one day. And even during the night, both in the forests and in the mountains where I kept my herds, the rain and snow, the frosts and sufferings which I endured, excited me to seek after God the more earnestly." Twice he effected his freedom and twice he was recaptured. On obtaining his liberty a third time, he returned to his friends in France; but whilst there he became so deeply impressed with the duty of carrying the gospel to Ireland, where he first found Jesus, that he would dream of visiting that heathen land. During the silent watches of the night he frequently fancied he heard voices calling to him from the vast forests of Erin, "Come, holy child, and walk once more amongst us." He would awake from his dreams bathed in tears and with his heart throbbing with the keenest emotions. His parents and relatives endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from carrying into effect his resolution to return to the land of his captivity. He tore himself from their arms, rushed forth to the scenes of his missionary labours, and after years of incessant toil and cares he was made glad in seeing many of Erin's pagan sons blessed in possessing the light and liberty of Immanuel's redeemed ones. His conduct is very analogous to that of the great apostle of the Gentiles, who records, "when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him amongst the heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood." St. Patrick collected the idolatrous tribes in the forests and mountain sides by beat of drum, and narrated to them in their own language the love of God to their perishing souls in sending his son in their nature to redeem them by his sufferings and death from everlasting perdition. These recitals exercised a divine power upon their hearts, and resulted in countless conversions. The son of a chieftain named BENIGNUS embraced the truth taught by Patrick, and aided him mightily in preaching Christ sacrificed. He also succeeded him in Irish evangelisation. For a time this chief-

tain was greatly perplexed about the doctrine of the Trinity. He could not understand how three persons could subsist in the divine essence without their being three Gods. Patrick replied that there was but one God, and yet each person was God, and that the doctrine was clearly taught in Scripture and ought to be believed upon the authority of God's word, even though we could not comprehend it. The young prince remained obstinate and would not receive the doctrine. At this critical juncture Patrick's eye rested upon a shamrock; he hastily plucked it up, observing that it was but one single plant possessing three distinct parts or leaves. These three parts did not make three shamrocks but one shamrock. In like manner the Deity, though one in essence, subsisted in a trinity of persons. This illustration so effectually removed the difficulty from the chieftain's mind that he at once became a loving and zealous convert to Christianity. From this incident, it is said, the shamrock was constituted the national symbol of the Emerald Isle.

Several members of this royal court embraced the gospel, just as there were many in Ceasar's household (Phil. iv. 22). Dubrach Mac Palulair, the royal bard, was of the number. He substituted songs to Jesus for the Druidical hymns which had formerly awoke the music of his harp. Two centuries after the death of St. Patrick, Columba, grandson to Fergus, was so filled with the love of God and a desire to save souls, that he went as a missionary to Scotland to preach to the Picts and Scots that gospel which Patrick had learned from his pious mother. Columba landed on one of the Hebrides islands, called Iona or Icolmkill (that is, the island of Columba's cell). Here he founded a college for the training of young men for the pastorate, and for becoming missionaries. The ruins of a meeting house which he caused to be erected is said to be still standing. This island rock was designated "the light of the western world." From this church and college savage clans and roving barbarians long derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of a spiritual and scriptural religion. The venerable Bede states (book 1) that the Scots and Irish possessed in the eighth century portions of Scripture in their own language, though none of these early copies are now extant. The Anglo-Saxons refused to receive the gospel preached amongst them by the British missionaries sent from Iona, because they treated the conquered Britains as their slaves. Gregory the Great, when a mere monk, had ascertained this fact from some fairhaired Saxon slaves that were exhibited for sale in the market-place in Rome. On his ascending the pontifical throne he resolved to subdue the Iona churches and convert England to the Papal religion. In the year 597 he sent Augustine and forty-one monks to England to effect this conquest. Augustine landed in the Isle of Thanet, and

obtained the consent of Ethelbert, King of Kent, to celebrate in open day the Romish form of worship in the ruins of a chapel at Durovernan, near Canterbury, in which British Christians had in former days adored the Saviour. The king and thousands of his subjects were fascinated by the gorgeous ritual and ceremonies, and embraced the Pope's supremacy, purgatory, and the errors of the Roman See. Augustine, as a reward for his services, was ordained Archbishop of Canterbury, and of all the Saxons. He was placed at the head of a hierarchy composed of twelve bishops, with a vast number of subordinate ecclesiastics, and strenuously endeavoured to bring all the christian churches of Iona and Britain under the jurisdiction of Rome. Edelfred, a heathen Saxon king, at the instigation of Augustine, collected a numerous army, and slew, in Bangor, in Wales, the centre of British christians, twelve hundred of them, whilst these primitive saints were kneeling in prayer. Thus Romanism triumphed in England, as it did in France at a later period by means of the wholesale massacre of St. Bartholomew's day. Ireland must also be conquered; and the Italian pontiff, by the instrumentality of his English hierarchy, sent forth missionaries to persuade the churches, planted by St. Patrick and his followers, that their pastors were not properly ordained, and till they received ordination from the Pope they had no valid right to preach, or to administer the sacraments. The pastors and churches replied,—"We hold the doctrine of justification by faith in the merits of Christ's death, and the regeneration of the soul by the Holy Spirit applying the efficacy of the Saviour's atonement, and everyone who preaches these doctrines has evidence of his having been truly ordained and sent by Jesus Christ." This controversy lasted for centuries; Rome's emissaries thus endeavouring to corrupt the doctrines held by the Irish churches, and to destroy their spiritual freedom.

An event occured, nearly seven hundred years after St. Patrick's conversion, which gave the see of Rome an opportunity of placing the yoke of ecclesiastical despotism upon the neck of Erin. In the eleventh century Ireland was divided into five provincial kingdoms, and under each of the provincial kings were several minor principalities, ruled over by princes. The entire island was governed by a monarch elected by the princes and kings; but their choice was invariably restricted, from the landing of Milesius to the invasion of Henry the Second in 1172, a period of eight hundred years, to the lineal descendants of the three sons of Milesius. The five provinces were Ulster, Munster, Leinster, Connaught, and Meath. About the year 1166, Rodderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, a lineal descendant of Milesius, was raised to the dignity of monarch of all Ireland. Dermot

Macmoorgh, King of Leinster, forcibly carried off Dovergilda, wife of O'Rourk, prince of the principality of Breffny. To avenge this cruel outrage the injured prince sought, and obtained, the assistance of O'Conner against Dermot. Dermot was not only defeated, but deserted by his own soldiers and subjects. He fled to France to secure the help of Henry the Second, king of England, who was there endeavouring to quell a rebellion of his Gallic subjects. The king of Leinster promised to hold his dominions in Ireland in vassalage to the English king, if he would assist him in recovering his kingdom. Henry accepted the offer; but being then embarrassed with the French war, and also with his quarrel with the Pope, in consequence of his alleged connexion with the murder of the celebrated Thomas a Becket, he could not undertake the enterprise in person. Henry, therefore, issued letters patent, empowering his English subjects to assist the Irish prince in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot, thus supported, arrived in Bristol, and formed a treaty with Strongbow, Earl of Pembrook, who promised to aid him upon the condition that he should give his daughter Eva to him in marriage, and be declared heir to all his dominions at his death. He also received the promise of Robert Fitz-Stephens, and other adventurers. Fitz-Stephens was the first who reached Ireland, accompanied with thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers. Henry permitted Strongbow, Pendergas, and Fitz-Gerald, with their knights and archers, to reinforce Fitz-Stephen, whose united forces did not much exceed one thousand warriors. The island was soon subdued; the chief cities captured, and the Irish kings obliged to acknowledge the superiority of the English power. Henry himself soon after arrived with five hundred knights, besides other soldiers, to receive the submission of his new subjects. He appointed Strongbow his viceroy, who, according to the treaty with Dermot, married Eva, and after a stay of a few months, Henry returned in triumph to England. He effected his reconciliation with the Pope by submitting to enter Canterbury barefooted, and prostrating himself before the tomb of Thomas a Becket, and receiving from three to five blows of a scourge from each of eighty bishops and monks upon his bare shoulders. Pope Adrian the Fourth, and his successor, Pope Alexander the Third, issued Bulls, accompanied with a gold ring, as a token of Henry's investiture with supreme authority over Ireland, upon the condition that he held them in vassalage to the Italian pontiff, and would use his royal power to the utmost to bring the inhabitants into membership with the Roman See. The Bull of Adrian, dated 1154, reads thus:—"If, indeed, you have intimated, dearest son, your wish to invade the island of Hibernia to subdue that people, we are accordingly well pleased, that for the purpose

of extending the bounds of the Church you should invade that island." Its subjugation and annexation to the crown of England was effected in 1172. Henry caused the Bulls of both Popes to be published in Ireland; and the pastors of the evangelical churches who did not receive ordination from St. Peter the Fisherman, through his worthy successors the Popes, were imprisoned, or otherwise perished by cruel deaths. The Green Isle was parcelled out into dioceses and parishes, and a tithe, or revenue, was levied upon the conquered tribes and oppressed churches for the maintenance of bishops, priests, and monks, and for the erection of ecclesiastical edifices. Henry's son, king John, still further compromised his royal dignity, by doing homage to Pandolf, the Pope's legate. He most solemnly swore fealty to Pope Innocent, and ratified a charter in which he said, by his own voluntary free will, he resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to Pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair. He stipulated to pay annually for his kingdoms, seven hundred marks for England, and three hundred for Ireland. Under such sovereigns the "Island of Saints," as Ireland was once called, soon became the stronghold of the Popedom. Imposing ceremonies, and chanting of Masses in an unknown tongue, and swinging of censers, and gorgeous ecclesiastical habiliments dazzled the eyes, charmed the ears, and captivated the senses of a simple, unsophisticated, and cruelly persecuted people. Their nationality and freedom of religous worship had been violently trampled down, so that in a few generations the adoration of "Mary the mother of God," invocation of saints and angels, and the homage of images, and relicks of dead men's bones, superseded the office of Jesus, the "One Mediator," and plunged into cimmerian darkness the evangelical light possessed by the ancient churches planted by St. Patrick. Ireland was Romanised by England; and England was Romanised by the proud Saxons refusing to receive the gospel from their slaves, the Britons. In reference to this important historic fact, Dr. Johnson, in his *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, Vol 1, says:—"It had been much better if the English had received Christianity from the Britons, if it had not been below conquerors to be taught by those whom they had subdued. For they would have delivered this religion to us, without making us slaves to the Pope."

This night of moral and spiritual darkness rested upon Ireland from 1172 till 1528, *i.e.*, for three centuries and a half. Henry the Eighth in 1528 rebelled against the Pope, and convened a Parliament in Dublin in 1536 which declared him supreme head on earth of the church in Ireland. This Parliament also annulled the headships of the Pope both in Church and State, and invested

in full power over all bishopricks, parishes, and secular and astical preferments in Ireland, as abbeys, colleges, monas- and hospitals. Every one who refused to take the oath of ng's supremacy in all these enactments, or said anything tory of his royal authority in connection with these changes, clared guilty of high treason. He appointed over the diocesses s who were his creatures, and the Episcopal reformation d by royal authority and acts of the Legislature aimed at no cations in doctrines, or forms of worship held by Romanists, those that were considered incompatible with the dignity dependency of the English crown. Hence Episcopacy, and gment of Apostolic succession, with many other Romish were retained, and are still cherished by the Church of nd in these realms. The ejection of the Romish hy by the penal laws passed in the reign of Henry and Queen Elizabeth gave the priests an opportunity ealing to their attached flocks for sympathy and aid, and pretext of spoliation, and armed with spiritual powers over uls of their people, Rome's clergy have ever been able to t rebellion against the Protestant Saxon rule. Ireland has uted the great problem for the solution of every British nan, and so long as the country is Popish so long shall it be ercing thorn in England's side. Tyranny may quench the al fire that burns upon the altars of a nation's religion, but ere enactments of sovereigns can rekindle it. It must ived by a flame from the upper sanctuary. The English was read for the first time in Ireland on Easter y, A.D. 1551. The attempts of the English government for ies after the introduction of Protestantism into Ireland were ose of a cruel conqueror towards a helpless, prostrate foe, than the benign efforts of a Christanized nation to ob- e affections of a sister kingdom whose every interest should been considered as an integral element of their own power rosperity. The propagation of the reformed state religion enal code is diametrically at variance with the principles of ngdom which is not of this world, and whose most glorious ements are secured by "weapons which are not carnal, but y through God to the pulling down of strongholds." The Church in Ireland, now happily abolished, though possessed of ly revenues, and the lofty dignity of being represented by the s in the British house of peers, has been proved by three hun- ears of an experiment to be an abortion—as a MISSION CHURCH *nanists*. The honour of bringing Ireland into subjection to eptre of Immanuel is being reserved, we doubt not, to the of the Primitive Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, esleyans. Protestant Episcopacy has too much of popery asso-

ciated with it and has been too long allied with state enactments that deprive Ireland of much of her trade and commerce in the past to obtain an extensive or permanent hold in converting Irish Catholics to a scriptural faith. Let English dissenters arise and take possession of the land, and endeavour to redress the wrong perpetrated by their ancestors, who despoiled the faith of the ancient churches of the Culdees, by now giving them the gospel preached by St. Patrick. Ireland, in common with other nations, shall yet know the Lord from the least to the greatest of its inhabitants. For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. If British Christians be sincere and zealous in their efforts to evangelise that beautiful island, they shall ere long see Hibernia's moral wastes cultivated into a fruitful field, and her Sahara of darkness and spiritual death transformed into the "garden of the Lord," flooded with the vivifying beams of the glorious "Sun of Righteousness." England is bound to give Ireland—dark, Rome-enslaved Ireland—the gospel, apart even from the higher Christian considerations, for her national tranquility, nay, her future existence, perhaps, amongst the commonwealth of empires, necessitates this course of action. Every year there is a mighty tide of Irish emigrants flowing in upon Great Britain and America, and flooding all the great cities of trade and commerce. The Irish Romanist is the inveterate antagonist of Protestantism and Protestant Governments. From their increasing numbers they will, in the possession of a franchise, exert a mighty influence in the destinies of these two countries, and employ every engine at their command to embarrass and overturn our Protestant constitution. The gospel of Christ is the great panacea for Erin's woes. Faith, looking down through the vista of futurity, beholds with rapturous delight the Message of Love proclaimed by earnest men, scattering the clouds of superstition and ignorance, snapping Rome's fetters of thraldom, exalting the "sea-girt isle" to a dignified position amongst the nations, eliciting her innate powers, and consecrating her sanguine sons and lovely scenes to the service and sovereignty of Jesus. Then shall loud hosannas to Immanuel be wafted upon every breeze, and echoed from mountain to dell; then shall the balmy air be permeated with the incense of an ardent and a spiritual homage, ascending from the regenerated hearts of Ireland's teeming millions; then shall the life of heaven, illuminated and quickened by the spirit of Jehovah, flow in an unebbing tide, filling every province of the dear Emerald Isle with the beauty and gladness of the Divine perfections. The golden age would then be realized of which her national poet in ecstacy sung—

"Great, glorious, and free,
First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea."

Portadown, Ireland. JOHN DOUGLAS.

Apostolic succession, and Rome's assumption as mistress of all other churches in *faith and doctrines* shall be considered in our next papers.—J. D.

ART. III.—A CRITIQUE OF BUTLER'S ANALOGY.*

THE tracing of analogies denotes reasoning from one thing to another in accordance with their proportions and the similarity of their relations. Things which differ very much from each other in nature may, nevertheless, in some quality or property bear some resemblance. For instance, there is strength in the trunk of a tree; there is also strength in the limbs of a lion; a tree therefore bears some resemblance to a lion. All rhetoric is based on analogy, for any one thing which has absolutely no similarity to another thing cannot possibly be used to illustrate it. All the parables of the Lord Jesus are rhetorical, and, therefore, analogical. The kingdom of heaven is like leaven. Barm influences meal; grace influences humanity; but neither barm nor grace would in the same manner influence sand. The analogy, then, between the two is, that each has power to move that to which it is related.

The word *analogy* is a compound Greek noun, consisting of ANA, which means distribution, and LOGOS, which means a subject, or an account. The word, then, literally means that proportion of resemblance which is distributed amongst all existing things. All logical generalisations depend for their very existence on analogy. In truth, relationships are without number and without end.

The analogical argument of Dr. Butler is the most famous and profound of all the apologies for the Bible. The sacred Scriptures have always been distasteful to unspiritual men, and especially to that section of them denominated deists. But these, in professing themselves to be wise, in despising authority, in setting at nought all revelation, have clearly manifested their blindness of mind and, we fear, perversity of will. The Book of God is not distasteful to persons who desire to live soberly and righteously. Another book as important as the Bible cannot possibly exist; both its matter and its style declare, as with a voice from heaven, its divine original. It assumes an absolute authority over all men; all disloyal and disobedient persons it threatens, in most imperious language, with endless pain and privations. It brooks no equal, and admits no appeal from its own tribunal; it demands instant and absolute submission; it insists on perfect, universal, and perpetual obedience; it asserts that all actions, whether of the body or of the mind, or of the heart, having a moral nature, are noticed in heaven, and that at the end of the world every man will be treated according to the moral quality of his doings.

* Read at Tipton, before the Literary Association of the Tunstall District, by Rev. E. Illingworth.

This imperious tone, this rigorous exaction, this universal inspection, and this severe inquisition offend men. Some believe the Bible in words, but deny it in deed. Others say that it is a fabulous production of politicians and priests. These affect to despise both its authority and its threatenings. It is incredible, they say, that any one will be punished eternally for a few misdoings in time. The God of nature cannot be so cruel, so implacable, they affirm, as the God of grace is said to be. It was to meet and to silence for ever these, and all similar objections, that Butler wrote the "Analogy." The basis of his work, the one idea which he never loses sight of, is this, that the system of things perceptible to the senses bears a close resemblance to the system of things revealed in the Bible. "The Analogy" was written to show that every objection which infidels urge against the Bible can, with equal force and propriety, be urged against nature; and that the world which we see, and the world which the Bible reveals, are but two parts of the same government.

By the friends of truth it has many times been deemed necessary to justify the ways of God to men. And yet, the Bible is, beyond all comparison, the best theodicy in existence. But the Bible is a disputed book. History belongs to man, but history is not a theodicy; and Providence is too complicated, too comprehensive for a satisfactory vindication of mundane circumstances. Brute creatures are within the range of Providence, but they have no capacity for a revelation. They can have neither hopes nor fears about the future; they eat and drink to-day free from anxiety respecting to-morrow. As the Bible is the most important of books, so man is the most important of creatures. Angels and devils are interested in his condition, and the Lord God himself has made special provision for his restoration to virtue. In the unseen world there are beings who have kept, and beings who have broken, their fealty; so on earth there are persons who accept, and persons who reject the Lord's terms of reconciliation. The treatment of men in another world is to be graduated, according to their conduct in this world. No one can get rid of his responsibility by denying the supernal nature of the Bible. In Christian countries deists have generally been few in number. Some of these have, however, been able men, and these, most assiduously, have tried to spread their principles. Bold assertions generally make deep impressions. When infidels publish their opinions, for the double purpose of vindicating themselves, and of disparaging the Word of God, they should not silently be left in their misbelief, nor to be stumbling-blocks to the weak and ignorant amongst Christians. Granted that Hades is hidden from us, and that heaven is beyond our perception, is there no common ground within the regions of vision on which deists and Christians can hold a friendly discus-

sion? If a man cannot be accompanied into the next world, he can be followed to his end in this. As the Lord is the Maker, so he is, beyond all doubt, the Governor of the universe. What, then, is his treatment of men here? Is there a deeply-rooted belief in men generally that they will exist in a future state? Is there anything from which it can be reasonably inferred that we shall live hereafter? As a matter of fact, we are subject to pain in this world. Does pain, or some portion thereof, seem to be of the nature of punishment? If God so disposed things, that pain follows some actions because of their evil nature, then the government of the world is moral, and man is on probation, and probation implies danger and difficulty, as well as moral discipline and improvement. These are the principal theses which Butler discusses in the first part of the analogy; and these are the theses to which infidels can offer no relavent objections.

In the "Analogy," the existence of God, personal and conscious identity, the immateriality and immortality of the human soul are assumed. With these, as postulates granted, the author commences his great work. His reasoning sometimes is very obstruse, but never psychological. To a psychologist, pure and simple, man has no body, just as to an anatomist he has no soul. To Butler, a theologist, he consists of both body and soul.

The first chapter very properly treats "of a future state." It is as probable that man will have a future as it is certain that he has had a past. As he cannot be traced beyond the grave, whether at death he ceases to be or continues to exist, remains a question of supreme importance. The system of things which is called *nature*, bears in many of its particular processes marks of progression. By incubation the egg becomes an embryo, a fœtus, which bursts the shell as it is developed into a bird. Trace a man's history backwards through boyhood and infancy, and it will be seen that he has already undergone several important and radical changes. Between an embryo and a man the difference is as great as can possibly take place between the man and any improvement which a future state can develop. If, therefore, man is destined to enter into another and a very much higher state of being than the present, this will only be in perfect accordance with the analogy of nature.

It is highly probable that the soul is not dependent on the body for its conscious existence. In dreams the soul acts without the assistance of the body. If the soul was not distinct from the body, the size of the soul would probably depend on the size of the body. A small body, in that case, would always contain a small soul, and a large body a large soul. On the supposition that man is absolutely material, the soul, for ought that appears, might be spread over the body like the nerves, the arteries, and the

veins. If so, a person who should lose a limb would thereby lose part of his soul, and thus become a cripple in soul as well as in body. Now, as a small body sometimes contains a really large soul, and as no one by losing a limb thereby loses part of his soul, it is highly probable that the soul is not at all dependent on the body for its conscious existence. There is little likelihood, therefore, that death will interfere with the life and activity of the soul. And if death, that something which takes place when time ends in eternity, does not interfere with the conscious existence of the soul, there is no probability that anything else will. The body is pervious, tangible, and, therefore, divisible. Consciousness is a simple, indivisible something beyond the reach of pestilence and disaster. The agencies of nature cannot act on that which has no parts. Not unfrequently the mind is strongest and clearest when the body is feeblest. Clearly the soul is not of the earth; for a time it sojourns here, as a stranger, in quest of home. All tradition, all history, universal consciousness, bear unmistakable testimony to man's dual nature. It would be contrary to both science and observation to say that man dies absolutely because we cannot follow him beyond the grave. To affirm that the soul ceases to exist because it ceases to dwell with us is the same as if anyone should affirm that the sun does not shine, that the great light of day has died out, because the rotary motion of the earth has carried us away from his beams. Man's twofold nature is indicated by two words, which denote totally distinct things; they are—sensation and reflection. The senses of the body are servants of the soul. Sensation, which may be called animal differentia, has its own pains and pleasures; it is the principal avenue through which the mind communicates with the outer world. But in its acquisition of knowledge the soul can use other instruments besides the senses. Reflection is the soul's recognition of its own action and condition. Of all the attributes of the soul the reflection is least dependent on sensation. Death destroys the powers of sensation, but as reflection is not dependent on sensation, it does not appear that death can either suspend or destroy its powers. It is not at all probable that death will exercise any terminable influence over the spiritual part of man.

The Author of Nature has so created man that he is capable of enduring a vast amount of pain, or of enjoying a vast amount of pleasure. Capacities of pain and of pleasure seem necessary to human nature. Nor can we conceive of anything possessing life without feeling; and everything that has feeling is capable of, and liable to, uneasy sensations. We know, certainly, that either part of man's dual nature can be pained or distressed; nor does it seem possible for man to exist, either here or elsewhere, without the faculty of feeling. Having been made with such capacities, it is altogether probable that we shall retain them.

Probation, as connected with punishment, is treated in the second chapter. Excepting atheists and transcendental philosophers, all men believe that God governs the world. Things which lie before their eyes men cannot deny. Revelation refers to what is remote and unseen. Few men would have set aside the Bible as a legendary book if it had contained no account of fallen angels and of Hades. Some persons are extremely unwilling to believe that, under any circumstances, God will punish them. The Bible, the most astounding book in the world, is fabulous because it contains threatenings of eternal woes. The two things which invest the future state with such transcendant importance are the capacity of man for joy or sorrow, and his moral responsibility. The two things which lie at the basis of all righteous punishments are, guiltiness of conduct, and conscious identity. Time is said to consist of a succession of moments, but conscious being does not consist of a succession of thoughts. At sixteen and at sixty a man knows himself to be the same. The soul cannot doubt its own identity; and as it perceives a crisis approaching, it naturally enough becomes anxious about its condition in a future world. The Bible affirms repeatedly that lasting punishment will follow moral delinquency. But there is a physical responsibility, just as there is a moral responsibility. Laziness leads to privation and sorrow as certainly as wickedness leads to privation and sorrow. The natural government of God is as fixed and stable as his moral government. Food is necessary to life; raiment in almost all countries is necessary to life. Whosoever fails to provide these things perishes. The man who closes his eyes or stops his ears, and walks abroad, comes to grief. A man must keep from the fire or he will be burnt; from the water or he will be drowned. Mentally, morally, and physically, man lives by labour. The neglected mind is dark, the neglected heart is hard, the neglected body is ruined. Thus sacred tradition is seen to be true; in the sweat of man's face he eats his bread, whether that bread be for the body or the mind or the heart. If, then, in order to avoid misery in a future state, constant and anxious attention demanded, this is only in accordance with the analogy of nature.

The physical laws of God are better known than his moral laws By millions of men the Bible is not much read. But the body may be spoken of as another book of God, which demands and secures attention. A man cannot shelve poverty or disease as easily as he shelves his Bible. All persons know the alphabet of sorrow and suffering. The Bible is a revelation of things in symbols; nature is a revelation of things in experience. The natural government of God makes known to us as clearly what sort of feelings will follow certain actions as the Bible declares that the soul that sins shall die. By the pains of the body, as well as by

the fearful apprehensions of the soul, the Author of Nature makes known his disapprobation against evil. Infidels of all phases are constrained to confess that unnumbered sorrows and diseases are self-induced, and that the laws relating to the body are well known and unchanging. The two things treated on in the first two chapters are, perpetual conscious existence and physical laws, so far as they refer to the human body. As men are in existence, it is more likely they will continue to exist, than it was that, having no existence, they should begin to be. And as men know beforehand that certain actions, if done, will infallibly bring on them certain sorrow, it is in perfect accordance with induction that in any other state of existence punishment will be annexed to transgression.

Having shown the great probability of a future state, having also pointed out a part of the analogy existing between nature and revelation, the author proceeds to inquire into the kind or quality of the Divine government. By all nations, by all communities, by all families, and by all persons, judgments are formed of right and wrong, of vice and virtue. According to universal opinion, it is impossible for human conduct to be destitute of moral quality. All laws have been made, and all tribunals have been formed, in consequence of the clear perceptions of all peoples of a wide difference in the qualities of actions. Allowing for the great difference between men and the Lord God, there is still much that is analogous between earthly jurisprudence and the will and purpose of the Almighty, as seen in Providence and as revealed in the Bible.

All government is based on discrimination. Nations could not exist without laws. Everywhere and always, habits of certain sorts are regarded as wrong; theft, misrepresentation, and misappropriation are essentially evil. Both the fitness of things and the nature of actions condemn injustice. Just as the necessary parts of language are in every nation the same, so the essential elements of morality co-exist and are co-extensive with the race.

No Christian ethnologist teaches that on earth the Great Governor administers strict justice. If every sin were to be punished as soon as committed the human race could not exist. Here the best of men walk by faith, and not by sight; are sustained by mercy, and not by justice. The natural government of God is not altogether beyond human recognition; enough is seen and known to enable us to determine of what kind it is. It is not absolute beneficence; it does not seek the happiness of men irrespective of the quality of their actions. It is readily granted that human beings are liable to many pains and sorrows apart from personal guiltiness. But all pain is not punishment. Men make a clear dis-

tinction between the evils they bring on themselves and the evils which result from a mixed government of loyal and rebellious subjects. The majority of evils which afflict men are self-induced; just as fire burns the body, sin burns the soul; but the body loses the pain sooner than the soul. A really bad action (say a scandalously unjust or cruel action) burdens the heart for ever; so clearly, so strongly has the great God taught that moral evil is more serious than physical evil. Ten of Jacob's sons sold Joseph, their half-brother, into slavery; more than twenty years afterwards the same men stood before the prime minister of Egypt, supposing that he was inventing pretexts for condemning them to lasting servitude. In their sorrows and supposed dangers that which troubled them most was not that they were not likely to see their wives, their children, their father, nor their native land again, but that long before they had committed a great crime, which, like a dark goblin, haunted their path and fastened on their hearts. "Spake I not unto you, saying: Do not sin against the child, and ye would not hear? therefore, behold also his blood is required." That a sinful life brings many and grievous sorrows which a man would not have to bear, apart from his sins, cannot be contradicted. Thus men dig pits, kindle fires, and make for themselves hells in this life, tormenting themselves before the time. Whence does the uneasiness which follows transgression proceed? Does it not arise from the constitution of human nature? Then that nature is moral; then it was intended when they were made that men's own nature should punish them, if they should become guilty. Thus the man himself is made the witness, and in some sense the judge, of his own guiltiness. It is difficult, nay, it is impossible, for men to destroy utterly their moral discernment. Buried under years of flagrant crimes the conscience will speak, if only in whispers, against falsehood, impurity, and injustice.

Probation implies trial, difficulty, danger. Angels were put on probation, and some of them broke their fealty. The first human beings were placed under restraint, and rebelled. It seems as if the Lord God put all sentient creatures on trial, and that he acknowledges as his own only such as maintain their loyalty. The Scripture teaches that whatsoever a man sows that shall he also reap. Life is a field. Actions are seeds. Final results are the crops which are reaped. Moral government refers to the quality of actions; probation refers to trials and difficulties in avoiding evil, and holding to that which is good. The man who by a sinful life produces numberless evils here, is at the same time laying up for himself wrath in a future state.

The government of a father is natural government. The government of God, in all things that refer to this life, is natural gove rn ment. All that refers to a future life, to what will take pl ac

beyond the grave, is supernatural government. Can we then discern anything analogous between the natural and the supernatural government of God? Youth precedes manhood, just as this life precedes the next. The two things which are necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of life are a sound body and an intelligent mind. An infant is on probation. Every man has been an infant, but every infant does not become a man. The dangers of youth are many and great. A boy is on probation. The foundation of the edifice of knowledge should be laid in boyhood. Boys in general are as unwilling to bend down their minds to study as men are to conform to the requirements of the Bible. The analogy is striking between the desires and ideas of boys and of men. Boys love freedom of action, and if left to themselves they never would prepare for the stern and important duties of mature life. They are perpetually fretted and annoyed by compulsion and restraint. Nor can they understand, nor do they care to consider, the necessity for the whole of boyhood to be spent in careful preparation for mature years. In truth, the whole of life, up to any given point, is passed in preparation for what is supposed to remain. Life is spent in using means to secure results. Man's present condition consists of labour and anxiety—of labour to secure a competency, of anxiety lest that competency should be destroyed by flames, or floods, or thieves, or vermin. A man has to fight for food and for a place in society, as really and as constantly as the saint has to fight for the faith and for the promised inheritance. Human nature is easy, careless, indolent. The pleasures of sense fascinate, entrance, and lead astray. Some things are lawful to a given extent; others are lawful under certain circumstances. Eating is necessary to life, but gormandizing is both vicious and hurtful.

The author of nature has endowed man with a considerable amount of foresight. The kind of results from certain actions is known beforehand. The perils of earth are great and manifold, but nature teaches men how to avoid them. The perils beyond the earth are inconceivably dreadful, but the Bible teaches men how to avoid them. The welfare and safety of the body demand as much care as do the welfare and safety of the soul. In short, a man's comfort in this life as much depends on himself as his happiness in the future life can do.

To every creature God has given capacities suitable to its own mode of life. All nations and tribes have recognized the clear, broad distinction, the wide impassable gulph, separating beasts from men. Beasts cannot be taught, because they have no capacity to understand that there is an essential difference in the qualities of actions. If, therefore, they should have a future life, the conditions of that life cannot depend on anything done by them in

the present life. Men, however, are capable of moral discipline, and the whole arrangement of Providence, so far as it is understood by us, seems intended to develop and to cultivate man's spiritual nature. It may be asserted broadly and fearlessly that moral nature is the highest kind of nature in the universe. Most assuredly human imagination can conceive of nothing superior. The infinite power of the great God is not greater nor more precious than his truth and justice. It was because of moral delinquency that angels became devils. It is because of moral obliquity that men are cast into outer darkness. By application and care human beings can fit themselves for higher positions. New states of mind and of heart can be acquired. A determined will, executing the decisions of the judgment, can totally destroy pernicious habits of long standing, and, at the same time, can induce a commendable mode of life. A man who has never been subjected to drill is no soldier. A man whose mind has not been scholastically trained is no scholar. A man whose heart has never been cultivated in Christian grace is no saint. Man has power to lay aside one habit and to acquire another. The passive impressions made by Providence and by revelation are intended to produce active habits. By those impressions men are prompted and commanded to secure such states of mind and conditions of heart as nature does not furnish.

There is little difficulty in discerning the designs of the Deity in bringing men into existence. God had previously made animals without spirits and spirits without bodies. In man there is a conjunction of mind and matter, of flesh and spirit. What, indeed, are men but angels with bodies? And what are angels but men without bodies? By the wisdom and power of God a body is formed of dust, and a spirit is breathed into it. What is this but incarnation? A celestial spirit in a terrestrial body! Angels, having no earthy nature, had their trial in heaven; men, with a complex nature, have their probation on earth. Men who are said to be midway from nothing to the Deity, may be also midway from perdition to felicity. The earthly life is intended for moral training, for the cultivation of the higher part of human nature, that by exercise, by restraint and constraint, men may reach the measure and the stature of virtuous life, and thus become meet for the highest place in the universe.

Moral discipline is of great importance. In the human spirit there are faculties which can never be developed without exercise. The dangers connected with free action, with unfettered volition, are many and great, but they are not insuperable. A child, when first trying to walk, has some difficulty in finding its centre of gravity. When it is able to move steadily, erectly, one of the most arduous lessons of life has been gained. Its first efforts to speak

are in single syllables; but with speech acquired the second great feat of life has been accomplished. But the tongue can utter foul words as easily as fair words, and in correcting the tongue the discipline of the heart commences. Words represent feeling, and feeling is the most considerable part of responsible life. Moral discipline, then, is intended to do for the heart what physical discipline does for the head and the tongue. When the heart, and the mind, and the will, are established in righteousness, the man is ready for the kingdom of God.

Moral delinquency is punished on earth. It is punished by governments, by communities, by society, and also by Providence, which is the natural government of God. Mental, moral, and physical diseases result from repeated transgression, while peculiar phases of villainy are followed by intense and lasting sorrow.

The last two chapters of the first part of the "Analogy" may be regarded as outer defences. They treat of the opinion of necessity as influencing practice, and of the incomprehensibility of the divine government. A person who should be reared in, and who should live according to, the principles of fate, could not be a member of human society. He would have to spend his days amongst beasts and in desolate places. In short, fate and necessity must for ever remain matters of speculation. They never can become active principles in daily life. On the other hand, he would be an offensively bold man who should affirm that he understands all the plans and purposes of God. But unless a man can see all that is, and all that will be, he should not deny that the Bible is a divine revelation; for the probabilities that it is are immeasurably greater as well as more numerous than are the probabilities that it is not. It would be difficult to conceive of a father leaving his children in dangerous circumstances, without a word of warning, and without making an effort to rescue them from impending perils. Human nature cannot dispense with the Bible. Wherever it becomes known it establishes itself in the minds and hearts of the people as in an impregnable fortress. No nation possessing it has ever abjured it. No people have ever put it away and forgotten it. Like the sun it shines for ever. Like its own high priest, it is always the same. Its living truths are as necessary to man's soul as food is to his body. The Lord God, ever blessed and ever glorious, has entrusted to us this precious balm, this infallible remedy for all the evils that burden the heart or terrify the soul. This is the book which, like a solitary brilliant star, points out the way from this great and terrible wilderness, this warring world, to the safe and peaceful dwelling-place of the saints of God.

The second part of the "Analogy" consists of eight chapters,

which it would be impossible to analyze satisfactorily in this essay. The first chapter refers to the importance of Christianity. Men are excessively fond of what may be regarded as their own inventions and discoveries. Any one who first discerns a new planet, or who ascertains how to apply the forces of nature in a new manner, is honoured and applauded, and his statue is reared in the market-place of a hundred towns. Nothing that is ever discovered in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, is ever regarded as superfluous. But God would be too munificent on the supposition that the Bible is his Word. It is sufficient to have made men, to have given them feet, without teaching them how to walk. Given, the earth, and the winds, and the sun, and the seas, and a few cry, "Enough, great first cause, with these we are satisfied." To these men Moses and Jesus are not needed. The Bible cannot be from God, because God has given enough without it. To this it may be said that if the few have enough perception and force of will to discover and then to be guided by natural religion, the many have not. The difference is great between speaking in the presence of the Bible and in its absence. The wisest men of ancient times were dissatisfied with the light of nature. On a subject of such great importance as the future state, and the circumstances of such a state, man needs and desires something definite. Socrates said, "I hope to go hence to good men, but of this I am not certain; nor doth it become any wise man to be positive that so it will be. I must now die, and ye shall live; but which of us is in the better state, the living or the dead, God only knows." "The future state," said Seneca, "was what their wise men had promised but never proved." To Cicero the future state was only a surmise, while such men as Sophocles and Euripides, Cæsar, and Pliny said that death destroyed all sensation of body and soul, and left no place for good or evil, for pain or pleasure. The condition of the whole heathen world two thousand years since is not to be described. The light of natural religion had well nigh faded away. The moral sense of the masses had been stupefied by the strong narcotics of their false religions. The light and truth which God had given at first were lost. Nor is there in human nature, ignorant and wayward as it is, any inherent tendency or strength to restore lost virtues and truths. A revelation superior to Moses and the prophets was needed. The Old Testament contains no aggressive purpose and no aggressive power. It commanded no enthusiastic prophets to proselyte the nations. The favoured people to whom it was given had an almost incurable tendency towards idolatry. The importance of the New Testament cannot be estimated. For more than two thousand years the world had no divine records. During that long lapse of time it was found necessary to destroy the world because of its wickedness, and

afterwards to shorten the term of human life by eight hundred years. Antediluvian history, and the history of every nation after the flood till the advent of Christ, manifest most clearly the degenerating tendencies of human nature. Moses and the prophets had little influence over the Jewish people. It was necessary that God should appear amongst them in dreadful judgments, or they would have forgotten their own institutions, they would have blended with heathen nations, and the knowledge of God would a second time have been lost to the world.

Christianity is indeed a peculiar dispensation of God. It is a publication of natural religion with considerable additions. God was known as the maker and ruler of the world; but as the redeemer and sanctifier, he could not be known but by revelation. The incarnation of the Son, and the work which that incarnation involves, form at once the peculiarity and the glory of the Bible. Nor is it at all incredible that God should thus appear to rescue his people from their perils. Nor should it be thought strange if God should appear amongst men, that his works should seem to be miraculous. Is it more wonderful that Jesus should turn water into wine than that the stomach should turn food into living flesh? Millions of millions of miracles are wrought every day in every part of the world. The difference between natural and supernatural miracles is simply this, that in the former instances God works with instruments, and in the latter without them. Is it not as strange that clouds should be spread over the world, and then dissolved and condensed into millions of rain-drops as that water should rush from a rock on being struck with a rod?

Reason is at once both the boast and the glory of man, yet reason is not a producing but a dependent faculty. It never would have taught men that the earth, if cultivated, would bear fruit. Place an absolutely ignorant man where nothing grows, give him any number of seeds, and reason never would teach him that the seeds if put into the ground would grow. Whatever is known of horticulture and agriculture more than was at first taught by God is the result of observation and experience. The body is as independent of reason for sustenance and the thousand comforts of life as the soul is for its peace and its purity. Neither earth nor heaven reveals its most important secrets to reason.

There is in Christianity nothing contrary to reason. It is not at all antagonistic to truth, whether natural or scientific. On the contrary, it vastly enlarges the domain of both reason and experience. It is perfectly suited to the requirements of human nature. Nor can either experience or reason offer any valid objection to it. Experience is both imperfect and partial. Many things generally known in some countries are altogether unknown in others, while much that was hid from our fathers is well known to us.

Many things besides miracles and prophecies are seemingly beyond the limits of general laws. Under what law can storms and pestilences, volcanos and earthquakes be placed? Why do millions of persons die in infancy and in youth? What is the general law of idiotcy and madness? What is the general law of riches and poverty? What is the general law of stature and of colour? Why are some persons short and others tall, some lean, others corpulent, some fair, others dark?

Some have wondered why Christianity was not given to the world sooner, why revelation was so slow in developing itself, as why it is not universal. Surely such persons do not confine their surprise to one subject. Many things really beneficial and of great importance have been given to the world slowly and by piecemeal. Why, it might be asked, are human beings brought into the world as babies, and not as men? Why is not the mind filled at once with knowledge, and not left for knowledge to be acquired by tedious years of hard study? Why are many trees hundreds of years growing to their utmost size, and why do streams begin as rivulets and not as rivers? on the supposition that Christianity as a revelation is complete, it was neither so slow in coming, nor so late as some other things. Why were not the antediluvians taught the various and important uses of steam, and also how to make paper, and clocks, and compasses, and a thousand other things? And why are not all these things universally known?

The mediation and atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ are subjects of special objection. To some philosophers the cross is worse than foolishness. The idea that God could not restore and receive men without the intervention of a mediator, is treated as absurd and ridiculous. Such persons, in their blind opposition to divine revelation, may never have stopped to inquire whether there be no subordinate mediators and atonement makers. The Scripture teaches that the innocent suffered for the guilty, and that no one comes to the Father but by the Son. And has society no analogies? Has the earth no resemblances of those heavenly mysteries? Is not every mother both a sin-bearer and an intercessor? Are there no parents heart-broken half their lives by the criminal conduct of their children? Are cases rare in which the just pay the debts of the unjust? Are there no instances of intercessors seeking to remove differences? On these subjects analogies are as numerous as the sands on the sea-shore.

On the whole the Bible is a most creditable book. Nothing is more natural than that God should reveal himself to such a world as this. Indisputably men are sinners. A perfect being could not make hearts morally unclean. Liberty of action implied the possibility of wrongdoing. Without liberty the whole universe must ever have been destitute of responsible beings. Action constrained cannot justly be punishable.

Human beings are unlike angels in a most important element. Angels do not increase in number. All fallen angels became personally guilty. The human race propagates itself, and every child born inherits a mortal body and a deprived if not a depraved soul. Here there is a powerful reason why the Deity should appear amongst men as the restorer, the Saviour. The whole race suffer, to some extent, in consequence of sins which only two of the race committed. Here the innocent suffer because of the guilty on a tremendous scale. The Fall, with all its consequences, was permitted. The Cross was appointed. The Son was lifted up to draw the world to the Father.

[This article should be read in connection with two others on the same subject from the able pen of the Rev. John Watson, and published in the *Ambassador*, Nov. 1871 and Feb. 1872.—Ed.]

Art. IV.—THE PROVINCE OF PRAYER.

THAT man, out of a deep sense of need and helplessness, instinctively appeals to the supreme Ruler of the universe for succour and relief is a fact beyond the necessity of proof; but will that appeal meet with any response? Is there a legitimate sphere for the operation of this universal instinct? Is the cry of human travail nothing more than a mockery, the great creator remaining dumb to his suppliant creatures, or answering only by an eternal silence? or, is the concurrent testimony of mankind, in every age and in every land, to be received, that our divine Father "is a rewarder of all them that diligently seek him," and that although "he holdeth back the face of his throne, and spreadeth a thick cloud upon it," yet at all times and in all places he is "near at hand and not far off" to those who wait in the vestibule, or knock at the postern of his spiritual temple?

It will be known to many of the readers of the *Ambassador* that these questions have been freely canvassed in recent controversy. Professor Tyndall, one of our most noted scientific men, with others of the same school, have bid us believe that prayer is futile, and little short of a piece of impertinence; while, on the other hand, eager and fervid disputants have not been wanting to maintain the positive view, as unmistakably taught in the Christian scriptures, and endorsed in the creed of every section of the church. Perhaps the most novel contribution to this controversy has been furnished by the Rev. Wm. Knight, of Dundee, in the columns of the "Contemporary Review" for January of the current year. He comes forward as mediator, offering such a compromise as he trusts will

be accepted by the scientists on one hand, and the orthodox defenders of revealed truth on the other.

Mr. Knight asks us to limit the sphere of prayer absolutely to the spiritual, and affirms that it never has been, or can be, efficacious in the physical region. But we will allow this reverend gentleman to speak for himself.

"No one, even slightly acquainted with scientific methods and results, can for a moment brook the idea of any interference with the laws of external nature produced by human prayer. We may add that (be our knowledge of science virtually *nil*) we can scarcely doubt that the amount of physical force within the universe is incapable either of increase or diminution, but only of endless modification; that the physical nexus between phenomena in their ceaseless flux and reflux is never broken, while the order in which the phenomena appear is governed by the rigour of adamantine law. The links of the chain of physical sequence continue to lengthen out interminably, connecting the past with the present, and uniting the present to the future infallibly. Catastrophe—the breaking of the chain—is simply inconceivable. . . . . A spiritual antecedent will not produce a physical consequent. . . We are forced to the conclusion that human prayer has no validity as a force directly working within the domain of physical nature."

There is nothing halting or dubious about this teaching; it is a large concession made to the physicist, braving the ecclesiastical penalties which such a concession may entail. But we are solicitous to know on what grounds this negative belief rests, for it will be observed that the quotations given above are nothing more than a statement of belief, carrying with them no authority. The reasons given by the reviewer for surrendering the orthodox view of prayer may be summed thus:—

1st. It is opposed to the findings of science.

2nd. It gives a superficial and irreverent view of God.

3rd. It is a distortion of the moral character of God.

In considering the value of these objections to the influence of prayer in the physical world, we will do well to remember two truths which shed a great light upon the subject in discussion, and we opine will go far to render nugatory this iconoclastic teaching.

Are we not warranted in affirming that the physical universe is inferior and subordinate to the spiritual, though the material is first in time and the spiritual last. We may stand in awe before the grandeur of nature, its magnitude, its order, the endless combinations of beauty which it presents, and the apparent stability of its laws; but in the divine lineaments and spiritual capacities of one human being we behold that which outweighs in value all the material universe, and will survive its dissolution. He who deciphers aright the unfolding scroll of Providence, the mysterious

questionings of his higher self, and, above all, the scriptures of revealed truth, will perceive that the growth of man's higher faculties, and the culture of his spiritual nature, is the grand purpose for which the material was created and to which it is subservient.

Another truth equally important to remember is the moral depravity of our race. Leaving out of view the question of man's primeval condition, and whether he has undergone a serious moral lapse or no, there cannot be two opinions amongst ingenuous observers as to the dislocation and ruin of his moral and spiritual nature. So deep-seated and ingrained is this moral evil, ever tending as it does to drag him downward in the entire volume of his manhood, until the very light which is in him becomes darkness, we should not be surprised if our offended but merciful Father should, in seeking the restoration of his apostate and fallen child, appeal to motives temporal as well as spiritual, and seek to approach the soul by special interpositions as well as by the beaten track of established law, laying under tribute all surrounding conditions to the accomplishment of his beneficent end.

We think we shall not be doing Mr. Knight an injustice in supposing that the first reason (see above) is the primal one, on which he rests his denial of the validity of prayer for temporal good. We are told that "this conception of the absolute fixity of physical law is one which the progress of science has made axiomatic, and without demur we accept the dictum of the physicist, "we have no scientific experience to warrant the belief that nature's sequences are ever variable . . . . . that he interrupts the working of his machine to prove that he is there behind it, and has power to alter nature, or to grant the requests of his creatures. Is not such a notion the offspring of the very rudest anthropomorphism?" Surely never did a more extravagant dogma fall from the lips of the high priests and apostles of science than is embodied in these quotations. Let it be granted scientific analysis fails to discover any "violation" or disturbance of established law in answer to prayer; that all appears fixed and invariable; but has science reached its *ultima thule*, that it should lay aside all modesty and make such a sweeping generalisation? Is it not a fact that it is still learning, and slowly spelling out the dim characters of the physical universe; and in doing so has much to unlearn and abandon? And who shall venture to say as it goes—

"Sounding on its dim and perilous way,"

a point will be reached in finality in the great chain of causation, when all intermediate links shall be traced, and the humble scientific searcher for truth shall stand face to face with the Uncaused Cause, when all the converging lines from the *mighty* circumference shall meet in one common focus? Is it not a

truer philosophy, as well as more reverent to believe, that he "has power to alter nature," that aback of all material forces there is a reservoir of strength by which the Great Artificer, in the plenitude of his wisdom, and for noble ends in his moral government, can and does move outside the established pathways of causation—albeit, we see not the intervening hand, or hear the sound of his footsteps?

With equal force may we here adopt the words of Mr. Knight, when contending for the utility of prayer in the spiritual realm; he says, of "those whose researches have confined them for a lifetime within the tracks of physical law, that with this region of mysteries they are unfamiliar. . . . . By the very conditions of the case they are precluded from pronouncing on its validity, because they cannot isolate the phenomena in question, throw it into a crucible, and subject it to analytical tests."

In order to show the absurdity, as well as impossibility of prayer producing any material change, our reviewer assures us "that a spiritual antecedent will not produce a physical consequent." What is meant here by the word produce? A more ambiguous term could not have been used; it means either to bring forth, to view, to exhibit; or, it means to create, absolutely to bring into existence. In which sense is it here intended? If in the latter, then it is a mere gratuitous assumption. That the reverse of this dictum, in both senses, would be more axiomatic, viz., a spiritual antecedent may produce a physical consequent, will be evident if we consider that the whole physical universe is a consequent of a spiritual antecedent or power, and that man also, in the exercise of his free will, is continually transmuting, arresting, and modifying physical phenomena.

It is somewhat strange that in the consideration of such a subject the reviewer should so completely isolate himself from the Scriptures of revealed truth; not even one incidental reference to their authoritative verdict on a question in no small measure vital to the existence of both natural and revealed religion. We will not do Mr. Knight the injustice of supposing that a craven fear was the cause of this omission; but such omission fills us with painful surprise, as if, forsooth, it were deemed irrelevant to introduce such a witness.* Freely do we admit that truth must be beloved for her own sake, we must hold by her despite all consequences, even should the heavens fall. That we may win the higher guerdon she offers we must yield a willing and absolute devotion at her shrine; yet it cannot be left out of our estimate of this concession to the apostles of science—the non-efficacy of prayer in the material universe—that it gives an absolute denial to the miraculous element

* The fact of Mr. Knight arguing the question on purely scientific grounds precludes his appealing to the authority of Holy Scripture.—Ed.

in the Holy Scriptures. The gravamen of this omission is, that it arbitrarily excludes the cumulative testimony of the inspired volume to the subject in discussion.

In our opinions as the Bible is an authoritative code of revealed truth, having power over the conscience and will, and helping us on as well as showing us the way to a better and divine life, it must stand or fall with the doctrine of miracles. These form such an integral part of the Bible, overlapping and blending with its histories, doctrines and precepts, that their rejection is fatal to its divine mission, and must brand with falsehood those men who professed to write its books as by the command of Heaven, and to whom we have been wont to look as authoritative teachers of sacred truth.

We cannot gainsay the testimony of such a "cloud of witnesses." Men living so remote from each other—that the idea of collusion cannot be entertained—under circumstances so diversified; and yet averring with such naturalness and persuasive power, that in answer to prayer, the Supreme Intelligence modified and suspended physical law.

Neither can we afford to leave out of our reckoning the recorded experience of good men ever since the closing of the inspired canon. Making every allowance for mythical and superstitious elements in human history, and knowing how difficult is the task of handling and weighing those subtle elements which enter into our spiritual nature, yet there is a formidable array of evidence corroborative of, and supplimentary to, the testimony of Scripture on the point in question. In affirming that the function of prayer embraces the material as well as the spiritual, we put the question of Mr. Knight: "Do the accumulated experiences of the ages then go for nothing on these two points—that the prayer of the righteous 'availeth much,' that it is the opening of a window to the supernatural; and that, while a devout man prays, his spirit is touched from above to finest spiritual issues? Have all religious men who have prayed for inward light, quickening, and help, and believed that they were listened to, no claim to be heard as witnesses in favour of a fact which is dim to the scientific eye?"

Science has stepped out of its worthy and legitimate sphere, when, putting on a bold and arrogant front, it treats as folly the manifold and uniform experiences of mankind to the efficacy of prayer, along the line of material phenomena, because, forsooth, those experiences will not submit to be formulated, and bow to scientific test. In answer to the cry of human need, men are as conscious of Divine interposition as of any facts coming under the cognisance of their outward senses, although such interposition refuses to be weighed, measured and put into the crucible. All history, written and unwritten, is replete with confirmation of

this point, which only a shallow philosophy can ignore, or describe, as mere "coincidences." One instance will be sufficient for our purpose, extracted from the "Memoir of William Forsyth," by Hugh Miller, and is also to be found in "My Schools and Schoolmasters," by the same painstaking and trustworthy author.

"Saunders Macivor, the mate of the 'Elizabeth,' was a grave and somewhat hard-favoured man, powerful in bone and muscle, even after he had considerably turned his sixtieth year, and much respected for his inflexible integrity and the depth of his religious feelings. Both the mate and his devout wife were especial favorites with Mr. Porteous, of Kilmuir, a minister of the same class as the Pedens, Renwicks and Cargils of a former age; and on one occasion when the sacrament was dispensed in his parish, and Saunders] was absent on one of his continental voyages, Mrs. Macivor was an inmate of the manse. A tremendous storm broke out in the night time, and the poor woman lay awake, listening in utter terror to the fearful roarings of the wind, as it howled in the chimnies, and shook the casements and the door. At length, when she could lie no longer, she arose and crept along the passage to the door of the minister's chamber. 'O, Mr. Porteous!' she said, 'Mr. Porteous, do ye hear that? And poor Saunders on his way back frae Holland! O, rise, rise, and ask the strong help o' your Master.' The minister accordingly rose and entered his closet. The Elizabeth at this critical moment was driving onwards through spray aud darkness along the northern shores of the Moray Frith. The fearful skerries of Shandwick, where so many gallant vessels have perished, were close at hand; and the increasing roll of the sea showed the gradual shallowing of the water. Macivor and his old townsman, Robert Hossack, stood together at the binicle. An immense wave came rolling behind, and they had but barely time to clutch to the nearest hold, when it broke over them, half-mast high, sweeping spars, bulwarks, cordage, all before it in its course. It passed, but the vessel rose not. Her deck remained buried in a sheet of foam, and she seemed settling down by the head. There was a frightful pause. First, however, the bowsprit and the butts of the windlass began to emerge; next the forecastle—the vessel seemed as if shaking herself from the load—and then the whole deck appeared, as she went tilting over the next wave. 'There are still more mercies in store for us,' said Macivor, addressing his companion; 'she floats still.' O, Saunders, Saunders!' exclaimed Robert, 'there was surely some God's soul at work for us, or she would never have *cowed* you.'"

From the extracts made it will be seen that Mr. Knight's exclusion of prayer from the region of the material, is in his opinion an inevitable consequent of regarding all physical law as necessarily invariable. "This conception of the absolute fixity of physical law

is one which the progress of science has made axiomatic. Belief in an all-comprehending Intelligence, which saw the end from the beginning, and 'determined beforehand' the history of every inorganic atom, and the evolution of each sentient structure, is a postulate of rational theology; and that in the guidance of the universe its great Superintendent acts according to laws set up from everlasting, is no less axiomatic."

But is not this postulate equally destructive in the positive as in the negative ground occupied by Mr. Knight? Surely the writer will not contend that in the moral and spiritual spheres all is confusion—a chaotic and lawless realm, nothing pre-determined or established. No sane person would venture on such a statement. Yet we confess ourselves at a loss to know why the following will not as remorselessly apply to the spiritual as to the material province.

"And so far as we can think of the complex economy of nature, as a series of pre-arrangements, they have been adjusted each to each, with the completest mastery of all possible emergencies. Were they ever altered at the suggestion of a creature, either they were imperfect before the suggestion was made, or they were made less perfect by means of it. If previously perfect, the change would be undivine; and if not perfect until the change, we could with difficulty believe in the perfection of Him who made it." On which horn of this dilemma will the Reviewer choose to be impaled?

We pass over the second reason given for excluding prayer from the sphere of the physical, because it seems to us included in the third and final objection, viz., that it involves a distortion of God's moral character. In support of this, we are told that prayer for things that are purely physical leads the petitioner to imagine that special catastrophes are signs of displeasure, calling for confession of sin and repentance; and that this is to cower with craven heart before a capricious Deity. Our duty is submission to the will of the Supreme, as revealed through the laws He has established; and that such superficialty and irreverence dulls the edge of practical endeavour, and implies a distrust of the absoluteness of the Divine wisdom and love. What is the answer to these grave imputations? Is it, then, true that all those whose deep religious instincts have led them to supplicate God for help in physical things, were, consciously or not, degrading his character and guilty of the rudest anthropomorphism? We cannot so believe. These accusations would have some show of truth if the fixity of physical law was such as our author has sought to establish. But if the premiss is inadmissable, or is not in accordance with our higher instincts, and all human experience, then all these inferences—so criminal and humiliating to the pious heart—must be treated as illogical, and of no more value than an idle tale.

In our judgment, a belief that God, in answer to prayer for physical blessings, does interfere with his established laws, heightens our conception of his moral character, knowing his fatherly solicitude for man's well being.

We have asked our readers to remember in the consideration of this subject the universal truth that the race is morally depraved. Here we have a vast disturbing influence projected into the moral universe, causing dislocation and ruin. Along the established pathways of law, the transgressors cannot be restored; nay, so dire is the moral catastrophe, that the race is represented—and the representation is in accord with the facts—as alien to God, and as dwelling in the illusion that they need him not. Is it not, then, *a priori* supposable that the beneficent Ruler of the universe, the Divine Father, who is declared to be love, should through physical as well as spiritual mediums, seek to bring back his lost ones? Seeing that our nature is dual, may he not in temporal as in spiritual things, by judgments and mercies—by appealing to our hopes and fears, touch us to high issues. That his method of working should baffle our research, that it should be

"Higher than height, and deeper than depth"

is but to acknowledge him the Infinite "who fainteth not, neither is weary."

To view the Almighty as thus working, is worthily to magnify and exalt him; infinitely preferable to the hypothesis that he is hemmed in by those laws which he has made, and may not use and modify them as it pleaseth him for the highest purposes and the end of all creation, while his creature man is under the iron clamp of destiny.

We refuse to surrender, at the bidding of scientists or compromising theologians, our long cherished beliefs in the prevalence and efficacy of prayer for temporal good; for such surrender would pave the way for the abandonment of the belief in the utility of all prayer.

Hold thou the good, define it well,
For fear divine philosophy
Sould push beyond her mark, and be
Procuress to the lords of Hell.

ROBERT FOSTER.

ART. V.—THE DISTINCTIVE SPHERES OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE EVIDENCE IN THEIR RELATION TO THE CONCEPT OF THE INFINITE.

THE POSITIVE.

THAT I exist, and that I now pen these lines, is a fact attested by my consciousness with such strength of conviction that I cannot resist it. For if this, my conscious and personal existence, be not real and positive fact, nothing in thought or experience is real. That the table on which I write is real, is a fact which I can no more dispute than I can dispute my own existence. Thus I attain to subjective and objective reality.

The subjective operates on the objective, the objective on the subjective, and thought is the necessary result by which I find that there is a prior reality, and one that is common and necessary to the existence of both the table and myself, for I find that both the table and I have space relations, and *ergo*, expansion, or space, is a necessary and prior condition of all limited existence. This expansion must contain the element of reality, except an entity can exist in a non-entity, the real in the non-real, which positions are impossible in thought. Thus, by the testimony of consciousness, I attain to the knowledge of the subjective personal, *real*; through the medium of sensation and consciousness I attain to the objective material, *real*; through the medium of sensation, reason, and consciousness I attain to that which is the prior and necessary condition of both—the *spacial real.*

Space is distinguished by two properties, one positive, one negative. The positive property is *expansion, or the power* to contain the extended. The negative property of space is *emptiness*, or the *want of matter.* Capacity, or the power to contain the extended, is demonstrated by the existence in space of the table on which I write, which capacity exists in all its reality; even when all matter is removed from space its existence in it still being possible. Thus expansion and capacity in space to hold the material not only proves its prior and distinct existence from matter, but establishes its *real* and *positive* existence by evidence as clear and positive as that by which it is proved that the "cosmos" exists outside the "ego." The negative notion of "no matter" considered with reference to its co-relative notion of the positive knowledge of "matter contained" may aid in the process whereby the fullest conception of space is realized, but it is only when its positive property of "capacity to contain the extended" is previously known that the negative can exist. The knowledge of prior possession can alone give the knowledge of loss, the positive can alone

give the knowledge of the negative. A negative without a prior positive is not thinkable, and if our knowledge of space, or of the infinite in any other of its phases, be only proved unto us by negative evidence, then we can never arrive at the positive concept of God, for it is only when we gain the concept of the real in sensation, consciousness, and reason that we have the true concept of the infinite, a *reality* maintaining its existence and identity in the domain and to the uttermost limits of the positive, and which even carries this reality and identity into the region of negation, defying all negative limitations to impair its existence. Then we have that which is unconditioned indicated even by the limits of the conditioned, and the limitless demanded even by the lines of limitation, which fact is true in all our concepts of the infinite, and clearly so in relation to space, for in an atom of matter we have that which cannot be limited in this point or atom, neither can its continuity be broken and kept within this atom, or separated from spacial existence outside and beyond, for that which is outside is the same one that is within, and defies all limitation. It is the limitless that makes the existence of the limited possible, and if our conceptions of space are limited either by positive or negative notions we have never yet attained to the true conception of it, for to the mind of the writer space can only be conceived of as the limitless reality in which alone the limited material, real, can exist, and this is demonstrated to all that truly think by the fact that in space we exist and move.

SPACE ONE AND INFINITE.—Though our existence and that of the table in space prove its reality, yet it does not prove directly its infinity, except by the reasons just referred to—its oneness and *illimitability*; for in all our concepts of space the following predicates are involved and implied:—

1st. Space is illimitable,—*ergo* is Infinite.

2nd. Space is indivisible,—*ergo* is one.

The only two instruments by which anything can be divided are Matter and Spirit. Matter cannot divide space; because, if we conceive of the finest material divisor possible, and if by this divisor we make the experiment at any point of space we may fix upon, when we make the attempt to cut space asunder, we find that space is not only on each side and all around our divisor, but *in it and through it*, and the very existence of that which was intended to divide it proves, not only its existence, but its indivisibility.

Space cannot be divided by Mind. Though we talk of space to the right or left,—near or distant,—of one space being greater or less than another, yet these are only terms denoting partial consideration, and no more divides space than the ticking of the clock divides time. Moments, points, distant, and near, are merely

terms used to give the relation of finite things to one another, but that one moment of time, or one point of space can be separated from another so that there is no time or no space between them is simply unthinkable, and furnishes the clearest evidence that we can have of their indivisibility.

Space cannot be limited by anything outside itself.

Matter cannot limit it, for the existence of matter proves the existence of space. Mind cannot limit it, for any point at and beyond which space does not exist is unthinkable; therefore, that which cannot be limited either by mind or matter must be infinite or unlimited; and, ergo, *one*, for that which cannot be divided by any known or conceivable division must possess a unity that is infinite in its perfectness.

Objection 1.—Does not the Infinite divisibility of matter prove that matter as well as space is Infinite?

Answer.—Matter is not infinitely divisible really. The only divisors known are the two before noted—Matter and Spirit. With regard to spiritual division—let us apply it to the table. We can think of a table half the size of the one before us, and another half the size of that, and so *ad-infinitum*; or we can conceive of the table cut in ten, or as many parts as we can conceive of in numbers; but what is the result? The table is as whole, perfect, and useful as before it was divided into this supposed infinity of parts; so the mental division of matter is moonshine as far as its reality goes, and it proves this truth—Mind can influence and modify, but it cannot divide matter any more than matter can divide the Mental and Spiritual. Apply the second divisor to the division of the table. Matter and the results are not infinite but *finite*. Let your instrument be the finest possible, and, after dividing and sub-dividing, the ultimate result is soon attained. The dividend is soon as fine in its edge, or it is just equal to the divisor, and then no further division is possible. Let science, either at the present time or in the future, discover divisors finer than any ever yet dreamed of, and still the same ultimate result will be arrived at,—the divisor and dividend will become equal and then all division will cease, which develops a truism worthy of attention, and one that is founded upon and proved by Fact. Matter can only be divided by matter. Division is only possible when the divisor is less than the dividend. All division tends to bring the dividend to equal *area* with the divisor. Beyond that point the divisibility of matter is impossible, for identical quantities cannot divide identical quantities, *ergo*, our position is impregnable. Space is *one* and infinite, inasmuch as it cannot be separated by division nor yet comprehended within definite limits, for that philosophy that can find the Infinite in or develop it out of the Finite makes imagination in authority equal to, and gives it the place of, sensation, *reason, and consciousness, ergo*, it is false.

Objection 2.—Space, Duration, and Causation are conceptions that have no real objective existence, but only arise from the constitution of the mind, or the form in which it cognizes phenomena.

Answer.—In this fragment we can do no more than notice that the doctrine assumed in this objection, if real, logically leads to the denial of all reality.

For if space, duration, and causation are only forms of the understanding, what proof have we that our consciousness has any more sure and certain existence, and that it also is not a form of mind? If so, then personal identity and every other reality goes, and we are left in the darkness of absolute scepticism. But against such a result the mind protests, and affirms its real and personal existence.

Objection 3.—If space and duration are infinite, and the infinite is one, *ergo*, space and duration are God.

Answer.—Space is God as seen in relation to material existence. Duration is God as seen in relation to events. Time, as known to finite existence, being the only period in which succession can exist, or the effect and consequent be preceded by the cause and antecedent.

Causation is God seen as the *great first cause* of all second or finite causes and effects, and as the *infinite personal* existence from whom all created *personalities*, life and power, spring. Thus, in consciousness we attain to the concept of a reality which, by the positive evidence given by sensation and reason, as well as that added by consciousness itself, must be acknowledged as one of the greatest verities within the domain of our conceptions or the conditioned. But here the proof derived from positive evidence *terminates*, and the surety derived from negative evidence *begins*, by which it is proved that this reality can neither be limited by, nor yet identified with, the conditioned, but is one in nature and attributes with the unconditioned. This reality can not only be cognized in space, duration, and causation, but also in the absolute truths of reason and in the imperative obligations and demands of conscience, whereby we attain to the concept of the infinite within the limits of the finite, and to the highest fact in philosophy, as well as to one of the most sublime utterances of revelation—

"In God we live, and move, and have our being."

GEORGE RACE.

ART. VI.—THE LAW VINDICATED.

"What shall we say then? *Is* the law sin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, exeept the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin *was* dead. For I was alive without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died. And the commandment, which *was ordained* to life, I found *to be* unto death. For sin taking occasion by the commandment deceived me, and by it slew *me*. Wherefore the law *is* holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good. Was then that which was good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful.—Rom. vii. 7-13.

AFTER so much said in the foregoing verses against the law as a rule of justification, it was natural to foreclose an objection that might be made as to its character. As it is set forth under the notion of a husband ruling with a strictness ill-suited to our moral feebleness, it was needful to guard its honour and rectitude. The law had just been named as giving force to sinful passion, and propelling the mind to sinful action, and to the production of deadly fruit. Such is the import of the fifth verse. Under a legal economy no better issue could be looked for. This being so, the writer asks the questions at the beginning of the seventh verse, or he personates some objector making these interrogatories. It is of small consequence whether we take them as from himself or suppose them proceeding from some one hostile to his doctrine. They are necessary to the argument in hand.

If the marriage treated of in the earlier verses was unhappy, where was the blame? Was the fault with the wife or with the husband? Or was there blame on both sides? Only one of the parties was culpable. Our offences against the law made it disagreeable to us. Our condition as descendants of one who made a slip in his conduct, and lost his original nobility and purity, makes the yoke between us and the law unequal. The fall had a disabling effect, not only on him who fell, but on us also, begotten after the fall, so that we are no match for the perfect law. We cannot keep pace with it. We limp and get out of step as we strive to keep abreast of it. And as its perfect rectitude will not admit of its stooping to accommodate, or relaxing to suit our slow, uneven motions, it comes to pass that we are vexed, and chafed, and dissatisfied, and the law gets a bookfull of accusations against us. It is too swift and too exact, too erect and measured in its gait for us. "Can two walk together except they be agreed?" Amos iii. 3. We may bewail this discordancy between us and the unbending law, but we cannot justly reproach it, or lay the fault at its door. However this accident has befallen, the wrongness lies on our side

of the house. We have no right to quarrel with our husband, nor to breathe a syllable against his character. All we can say is that he is perfect and right, and we are not worthy of him. On account of our proneness to evil the offspring of this union is all foredoomed to death and condemnation. The attempt to live well and happy, and keep on good terms with God, under an economy of strict law is indeed "a sore travail." It results in worse than nothing. "The wicked man travaileth with pain all his days." Job xv. 20. Our works are only "dead works." Yea, and we the workers earn death for ourselves, and will share the same fate as our works unless we procure a timely divorce, a course which is open to us, and to which we are urgently persuaded. The legal economy is a mortifying failure. It did not answer even with Adam, who was in a better condition than we. He was abreast of the law, and had capacity and moral goodness commensurate with its demands. With his degenerate children it has never answered. Throughout all our generations to the world's end it will be a failure. But because the law is associated with unworthiness, it should not, therefore, suffer in our esteem. If a worthy man be ill-mated, his wife being of such a temper and character that she cannot live at peace with him, let not the public misjudge him; let him be seen in his own light. "What shall we say, then? Is the law sin?" The emphatic reply is "*me genoito*," which our translation renders freely, "God forbid!" The law is all right—indeed, it is the standard and rule of right. Persons who keep short weights and measures are disposed to find fault with it, for no other reason than that it detects their false dealing. The law is never right for those who wish to live wrong. The precious sunlight is offensive and troublesome to weak eyes. When we hear a worthless woman berate her husband and cry out against him as being hard upon her, restricting her liberties and abridging her indulgences, if we know his good character we know what to think; her noisy accusations only betray her own faultiness, and leave her husband's honour unsoiled.

The law cannot be the cause of that which it simply reveals. The officers of the law cannot be saddled with the blame of the prisoner's violation of social order. Most convincingly they make him *know* his offence; but he is the sinner, and the servants of the law are blameless. Moreover sin is known before its commission, by the letter of the law, set before the eye, or pronounced in the ear of those who are liable to obedience. Sin and the law, though strongly antithetic, are correlatives. "Sin is the transgression of the law." 1. John iii. 4. So the one is made manifest by the other. As early as the third chapter in this same epistle the relationship of the two things is distinctly affirmed. "By the law is the knowledge of sin." Rom. iii. 20. The one is related to the other just as

the square or the plummet is to uneven workmanship. After a careless workman has reared a crooked wall, and the inspector comes with plumbline in hand, and finds it several inches out of perpendicular, and condemns it, it is of no use to blame the plumbline as the cause of the wall being crooked; the workman may blame his own negligence for what is done. His work will have to come down again and be re-built. The sun is not the cause of the filthiness of the apartment into which it shines; the filth was there before the light streamed in. The law is not easily satisfied. It blinks nothing either great or small. It carries its inspecting light deep into the recesses of the heart; meddles with motives, desires and inclinations; and demands rectitude and proportion in them all. It is something distinct from a man's self. There is, indeed, a law in man. He need not go wrong for want of right notions; he has a general idea of right and wrong. But he has misleading passions, which obscure the light and drown the voice of conscience, and pervert his intellect so that he confounds things which differ, and reverses bitter and sweet and good and evil. A law external to himself is wanted, to correct the perversions of passion, and to tutor him in the finer points of the inner life. Many a man who knows that the outward offence is wrong will excuse himself for a world of evil tempers and antinomian dispositions. If only he does not steal or kill, or commit adulterous action—though his breast is alive with anger, covetousness and lawless desire—he will bless himself as a decent man, and a worthy observer of God's law. This false estimate vanishes as soon as he sets himself alongside the law. Then he knows sin because the law says, "Thou shalt not covet." This carries a candle into the inner chambers of the mind, and condemns as sinful the passions out of which the overt action comes. We must not kill; but neither must we hate. We must not steal; but neither must we desire to possess what is another's. This tenth commandment seems to stand at the end of the whole, as a guard upon the other nine, any one of which may be violated in the spirit, even when kept in the letter. This was the fine point, which was too deep for Paul to learn without having the law at his elbow. "I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet."

From the seventh verse right forward the writer makes use of the first person singular. This is a habit with many a public teacher when he does not mean himself only. It is a matter of convenience, and taken up in order to accommodate his hearers. We have no hesitation in saying that Paul speaks his own experience to the close of this chapter, as also in the commencement of the next. If we are asked whether it was his experience prior or subsequent to his conversion, we answer, it was both, as a careful examination of the whole chapter will show. This is a critical ques-

tion, upon which we merely state our conviction without labouring out the proof. No one ever becomes a Christian without an inward realization of this seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. It may be realized in some with less force and fulness than in others; differences of shade or degree will arise from natural temperament, or other accidents, whilst all are conformed in some measure to the model. The apostle makes an example of himself for our edification, by turning himself inside out, that we may see how law and grace act upon a sinful creature for his restoration.

Verse 8. "But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence." Occasion means opportunity, convenience, fitting time or circumstance, of which advantage is taken to do a thing that could not have been done so soon or so easily, if at all. For example, a door where one wishes to enter may be firmly shut. The person desiring admission may not have sufficient force to effect an entrance. But some-one comes up who is entitled to enter, and easily succeeds to open the door. Then the hesitating waiter, who is lingering near, watches his chance, pushes close up and passes in. So sin lies at the door, ready to start up and take action when occasion offers. We name this simply as an illustration, and not to be pushed as an exact similitude. It would not bear close pressing, for sin is not in the position supposed—it is more within than without. When it sallies forth into outward manifestation, the external sign is mere accident or incident; the evil thing is internal. When either saints or sinners trace their offences to external circumstance, and blame this or that for a wrong thing which they do, it argues an undistinguishing blindness, and a self-justifying disposition. If the wind had not blown from the east or the west, or some intermediate point, their mill would not have been set agoing. This is true enough; but there must have been a readiness to work evil—a strong propensity to the forbidden deed—or the occasion would not have been so eagerly embraced. The mill-wands were set and spread ready for the occasion. And sometimes when circumstances are unfavourable, occasion is sought and made. Where the bias to sin is strong, the depraved mind invents and hunts opportunity and studies plans and ways for its gratification.

According to the common punctuation of this verse, it is the presence of the commandment impinging on the mind that makes sin seethe and rage so. It takes occasion by the commandment, as if it were offended into action by its unwelcome voice. Instead of doing better for being admonished and instructed, the rebel runs into worse excess. He was bad before he was spoken to, but worse after. What then? Is the magistrate chargeable with the rebellion he labours to quell? Must he be tongue-tied because his words fall upon uncircumcised ears? To blame him for the

riot made by mutinous passions would be a serious mistake. The voice of authority is entitled to be heard whether men will hear or forbear; yea, even though it should prove like oil upon fire, and provoke a greater flame. The legal officer must read the riot act, even if the noisy rabble grow more tumultuous upon hearing it. The result affirmed in the text might come round by the commandment destroying hope as well as by inciting opposition. The dejected mind, when it has plunged so far into sin which it loves, and knows that a penalty is due, is apt to grow reckless, and go on defiant of consequence; so, by frowardness, or by despondency the same goal is reached, and by the one as readily as by the other, if nothing beyond the law is looked to for a happy alternative.

There is another punctuation of this verse recommended by critics which rather alters the meaning, but without disturbing the main sense. The said pointing puts a comma after the word 'occasion.' Then it reads, "But sin, taking occasion, by the commandment wrought in me all manner of concupiscence." Or transposed, "But sin, taking occasion, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence by the commandment." According to this punctuation the occasion may be taken, as it is actually taken, from any source or circumstance and from many different points. The commandment itself is not spoken of as the occasion. Sin takes occasion, whence, it is not said, but just it takes occasion from somewhere, and works evil desire into intensity, the commandment incidentally helping the result. This way of explaining has very scholarly names in its favour, and finds an argument in the punctuation of the original, so far as that may carry weight.

"All manner of concupiscence," or all manner of unlawful desire. The lexicon says on the word, "in bad sense, *desire, lust.*" It looks back upon the clause "Thou shalt not covet." Yet it takes a wider range than the desire of money or property. It includes passion of every kind antagonist to law and equity.

"For without the law sin was dead,"—without the action of the law on his mind, it was quiet, dormant, or latent. He says "dead." He is accustomed to use strong words. We understand him as if it slept like a slumbering animal that might be roused by the stamp of a foot or the creak of a door. So, when the wind is hushed, the smooth ocean sleeps in its bed, capable, however, of being tossed into foam and fury by a blast from any point. Touched by the law, sin wakes to vigorous action. "The strength of sin is the law."—1 Cor. xv. 56.

Ver. 9. "For I was alive without the law once: but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died." "Without the law" indicates a state about which several impertinent things have been written, as, that Paul was without law in his childhood

before he reached years of discretion and responsibility, or that he was without law till instructed by Gamaliel, or that he was without law in Adam. Waiving these as irrelevant, we regard the period of his being without the law as including the whole of his life till he came under that powerful conviction that issued in his becoming a Christian. Prior to that he had indeed much to do with the law in a certain sense. His ears had been accustomed to hear it, and his lips to repeat it, and his mind to ponder it. It was his glory and boast, and engaged the ardour of his demonstrative nature. But he did not understand its spirituality, or feel its condemning power till the commandment "came," that is, till it broke in upon his conscience and disturbed him with the conviction that he was altogether wrong. So we say a matter *comes home* to a man when it falls on him with a force that deeply affects him. Accordingly, we think that Saul of Tarsus was without the law during the whole period of his Pharisee life.

"Alive" imports as much as happy, hopeful, strong in a good opinion of himself as being in a safe state. In love with himself, he felt no alarm or disquiet. So a prosperous man is alive when his business seems to flourish and his gains are obviously multiplied. Why should he not hold up his head when his ships bring home profitable cargo and his shops clear a satisfactory sum year by year? His bearing is that of a prosperous merchant. And if the surface of his affairs reported him truly, he would be entitled to look up; but some underlying rottenness of which he is incognisant breaks forth. A tide of untoward circumstances sets in upon him. Neglected matters turn up, throwing light upon his real condition. It comes out that he is a broken man. The law comes upon him and strips him of his glory. His bearing is quite altered. You see no longer the erect figure, the beaming face, the elastic step and bold port that distinguished him but so lately. The law has crushed him. The application of this is obvious. A blind sinner, full of false peace and self-satisfaction, feels no misgiving or self-displacency, till the commandment, exceeding broad and spiritual, is set home upon his conscience, convicting him of neglects and positive offences numberless. Then he becomes crestfallen, and receives the sentence of death in himself. Sin revives and he dies. He is in double difficulty, unable to answer the past and feeble to meet the future. "The young man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my youth up; what lack I yet? Jesus saith unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me. But when the young man heard that saying he went away sorrowful; for he had great possessions."—Matt. xix. 20–22.

Ver. 10. "And the commandment which *was ordained* to life

I found *to be* unto death." The commandment is no enemy or bar to human happiness. Nay, it not only does not hinder, but actually helps, a man's proper good, and that not by accident but by design. It was meant for life. The verb *ordained* is an intruder in the text, though it does good service. If you delete it, the text loses none of its force, but wants smoothness. "The commandment which (was) to life I found to be unto death." For easy reading a supply is wanted which may be *ordained, designed, intended*, or some such term. The particle rendered "to" indicates tendency as well as purpose. There is life in the law for obedient subjects. "Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments, which, if a man do, he shall live in them; I am the Lord."—Lev. xviii. 5. That death has resulted is an accident which was neither desired nor designed. The best things may be turned aside from their original by sin, which is full of perverting power. The gospel itself is a savour of life or a savour of death, just as it is received or rejected.

The eleventh verse, keeping in view the same agent or factor,—sin,—shews the process by which the unhappy result was attained. It is said previously "sin revived, and I died," nothing being named as to how the death was effected. Now two new words appear in the text, describing *how* the deed was done. Sin *deceived* me and *slew* me by means of the law. These terms naturally bring to mind the prototype of all sin, the first transgression, in which deception played a leading part. The old serpent, the devil, beguiled Eve through his subtlety, and turned the holy commandment into a murderous weapon. He uttered specious insinuations and bold assertions till the woman was deceived. The same tempter is at work now. Moreover, there is within the natural man a proneness to evil, which of itself deceives him, and by which he is drawn away into forbidden action and slain. The old man has deceitful lusts. Like Solomon's strange woman, sin has bewitching ways. "Her ways are moveable."—Prov. v. 6. So crafty a special pleader easily persuades us that the precept of the law is too high, or that the penalty will never follow the breach of it. Then we yield, and get our eyes opened only to behold our misery.

A conclusion is now formally expressed, "Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good." The three properties affirmed of the commandment are all to be understood of the law, although only the first of them is expressly predicated of it. The law and the commandment are only distinguishable as the whole and a part. The law, the whole body of it, is holy, and just, and good. The commandment, some one, each one, everyone, is holy, and just, and good. Collectively and separately it is all right and excellent. Is it fanciful, if we say that the three qualities named divide out towards the parties

concerned,—God, my neighbour, and myself? It is holy, insisting on a reverent and devout deportment towards God; just, requiring equitable dealing with one another; and good, inasmuch as it is profitable in its bearing on individual happiness. Ps. xix. 7-11. Mic. vi. 8. 1 Tim. i. 8.

Gliding on from the last word, "good," a question follows, "Was then that which is good made death unto me?" Then comes his abhorrent negation, "God forbid." The good law was not the cause of death, but sin was. There is such an abrupt ellipsis in this thirteenth verse that we cannot extract a meaning out of it without taking the liberty of supplying a clause. But that clause is furnished in the Apostle's own words, so the whole verse might stand advantageously thus:—"Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin *was made death unto me*, that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful." Sin is the factor, and death is its work. So bad is it in its nature, that it makes use of so good a thing as the law in effecting such bad work. It works a bad work by a good instrument. Hereby it is exhibited in its real nature as immeasurably and monstrously evil. It appears odious, hateful, and vile beyond all degree. The original expresses it as *hyperbolically* sinful. Hence it is compared to itself. "But sin was made death unto me that it might appear sin." It is as bad as itself, because there is nothing worse by which to compare it. It is out of all proportion and order, perverting whatever it touches, even so good and holy a thing as the commandment.

How important it is that we should individually and personally realize the state of mind indicated in this section of Scripture! Painful and distasteful as conviction of sin is, cutting to inches a man's self-complacency and laying him in the dust of self-abasement, it is, notwithstanding, the best thing that can befal him, if only he takes the right course and seeks help in Christ who is the end of the law for righteousness. Although we do not favour a long process of conviction, we cannot but think that a sharp strife of remorse in the soul is a hopeful token. There will be a better growth in Christian holiness where there has first been a conviction sufficiently pungent to make sin bitter. As one who has written well on this epistle says, "If our religious experience does not correspond with that of the people of God, as detailed in the Scriptures, we cannot be true Christians. Unless we have felt as Paul felt, we have not the religion of Paul, and cannot expect to share his reward." T. G.

ART. VII.—SYSTEMATIC BENEFICENCE.

WHEN this earth, with all its riches, at the beginning was handed over to the use of man, there seems to have been imposed some reservation or condition of acknowledgment of its original ownership. Just as is the case, even at this day, in the conveyance of some landed estates from one owner to another, the price is made a mere acknowledgment—rent payable at certain stated periods; so the wide inheritance of the earth, with its plains, mountains, vallies, rivers, seas, and the whole of its mineral, vegetable, and animal produce, was conveyed to man, but with the reservation of an acknowledgment to be perpetually rendered to its bountiful giver in a perpetual rendition of service and offerings; that is, in return for the goodness of the beneficent Creator, loyal service should be rendered to him, and offerings of the produce of the earth, the fruits of the ground, or of the fold and field, should be offered on God's altar of holy sacrifice.

Though we have not the record of any definite command of God ordaining this duty as a requirement from the earliest families of our race, yet we find in the historic narrative of the Holy Scripture an account of the performance of the duty at the earliest period. The nature and intent of the tree of life in the garden of Eden, obscure as they may be in other respects, have a gleam of light thrown on them when considered as showing forth God's original and perpetual ownership of the earth and its produce. This was the only reserve, this single tree and its fruit, from all the other teeming bounties of paradise.

The custom of bringing offerings unto God began in the first family of the race. "And in process of time it came to pass that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering; but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect." In this early incident there is evidence of recognition, not only of the duty of bringing offerings to God's altar, but also of the need of care and conscientiousness on the part of the individual in bringing not only the best, but the first-fruits of his produce. Why was the offering of Abel accepted, while that of Cain was rejected? There seems no warrant, either in the Old Testament narrative, or the comment of the Apostle Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews, for the conclusion that Abel's was accepted solely because it was an animal offering, and Cain's rejected because it was otherwise. Such an interpretation is entirely founded on the subsequent development of animal offerings in the Levitical economy of divine

worship. The comment of the Apostle Paul is that Abel offered a *more excellent sacrifice*, and that by faith. What, then, was Abel's more excellent sacrifice? The *firstlings* of his flock, and of the fat thereof. Cain, it is said, brought of the fruit of the ground. It would appear from the narrative in the book of Genesis that Abel took of the first of his increase to offer to God; the offering of Cain, on the other hand, was neither the first nor the best of the fruit of the ground. The Apostle Paul states that it was by faith that Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice. Every act of sacrifice or devotion requires faith or trust. We are inclined to the belief that the faith of Abel had for its object the providence of God, in his gift of the bounties of the earth. Abel, in his act of going to his flock, and thence taking the firstlings and the fattest, the very earliest increase of his stock, and offering it to the Lord, was an act of faith or belief in God, and an acknowledgment of his right to all "the cattle upon a thousand hills." The act of Cain, in simply bringing the fruits of the ground, it may have been after himself and his household had partaken of them, was directly opposite in spirit to that of his brother. There was evidently something in the gifts or offerings themselves which rendered the one acceptable and the other the reverse; and this cause, the law of the offering of the first-fruits, is, at least, deducible from the narrative itself; whilst other interpretations, of whatever kind, have to be brought to it from other parts of Scripture.

The subsequent history of the origin and ordination of offerings to God for his service, in erecting a tabernacle and maintaining its worship and ritual, forms a very interesting and important subject for study. After the sacrifice commemorative of the Passover had been ordained, and the Israelites had been brought forth quite clear of Egypt and the Egyptians, the next work enjoined upon Moses was the erection of the Tabernacle. The words of God to the leader of his people were, "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering: of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart ye shall take my offering. And this is the offering which ye shall take of them: gold, and silver, and brass, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' hair, and rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood, oil for the light, spices for anointing-oil, and for sweet incense, onyx stones, and stones to be set in the ephod, and in the breast-plate, and let them build me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them." Thus, with a definite object before the people, the construction of a sanctuary, or house of God, they were called upon to come up with their offerings to him. These were the simple requisites for the construction and ornamentation of the holy tent for divine worship. Afterwards followed the ordering of the various offerings to be laid upon the altar by the priests, as sacrifices to be consumed. These

were required from the people in their various grades, and according to their possessions. The burnt sacrifices were to be consumed by the fire on the altar, but the meat offerings, on the contrary, were only partly to be placed on the altar; the remnant of the meat offering was the portion of Aaron and his sons. But at the same time, the principle of yielding the first-fruits to God was kept in operation with all the other offerings. "The first of the first-fruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God;" this was given as a general rule among other divers laws and ordinances of the law given by Moses.

These first-fruits were to be of their harvest, of the corn, the wine, the oil, the fleece of the sheep, and even of the baked bread; the first sheaf from the field of the corn; the first grapes; the first oil; all were to be offered to the Lord. The ceremony of offering these first-fruits is described as follows: "And it shall be, when thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, and possessest it, and dwellest therein, that thou shalt take of the first of all the fruit of the earth which thou shalt bring of thy land that the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt put it in a basket, and shalt go unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose to place his name there. And thou shalt go unto the priest that shall be in those days, and say unto him, I profess this day unto the Lord thy God, that I am come unto the country which the Lord sware unto our fathers for to give us. And the priest shall take the basket out of thine hand, and set it down before the altar of the Lord thy God." Then follows a declaration to be made by the person bringing the offering, which is a sort of history from Abraham to the entrance into Canaan. The whole concludes thus: "And now, behold, I have brought the first-fruits of the land, which thou, O Lord, hast given me. And thou shalt set it before the Lord thy God, and worship before the Lord thy God."

These offerings of first-fruits established in the early ages were afterwards continued through the succeeding generations of the Jewish nation, until even the days of Christ, when the gifts were still brought up to the altar, or, at least, some form of offering answering to them.

We now come to a most important question, namely, what is our duty in this matter under the Christian dispensation? Are we, as some have endeavoured to prove, free from the law of offerings and gifts, from tithes or tenths? Has the Christian system to be a contrast to the former in this respect, that its ministers and ordinances shall be without a material maintenance? We cannot but express surprise that any one professing to be ruled by the utterances of Jesus Christ and his apostles can have concluded in the affirmative *to these queries.* We will take one utterance of the Apostle Paul—

"Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple; and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel." This, together with the precepts of Christ to the same intent, keep up the continuity of the ordinance, and link the old and the new systems together in this matter. The plain inference from this and other passages of the New Testament is that, as Aaron and his successors lived of the gifts brought to the altar, so the ministers of the gospel of Christ are to live of the offerings of Christians. That, in short, all the necessary ordinances of the Christian religion, and all the requisites for them, whether buildings, furnishings, maintenance of pastors, teachers, evangelists, and other labourers, and every other service, all shall be obtained from the gifts of the people: this is the ordinance of the Lord. And if the ministration of the old covenant was worthy of support, how much more that of the new; if the dispensation of types, of the shadow of good things to come, was to be worthily maintained, how much more that of the substance, the real, that which the types foreshadowed? And besides all this, the more comprehensive sweep of the Christian system, in embracing within its possible benefits the whole of the race, whilst that of Judaism was chiefly restricted to that nationality, gives it a larger claim upon the beneficence of its adherents.

There is also another department of this duty which claims attention, namely, that of *giving alms to the poor.* We are enjoined to give of our substance for two great and worthy objects; on the one hand, as already described, *for the service of God,* on the other hand, *for the service of humanity.*

Under the old Testament *regime* a most liberal provision was divinely made for the poor of the land; in fact, a poor law was enacted and enforced by the great Jewish lawgiver and his successors which, we sincerely believe, is scarcely excelled even by the large-hearted system in this country to-day, and which latter is evidently one of the outgrowths of Christian opinion and feeling. Here is the simple and concise wording of the ancient statute:—"If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren within any of the gates in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother; but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need, *in that* which he wanteth. Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, the seventh year, the year of release is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought; and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be a sin unto thee. Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him: because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless

thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto. For the poor shall never cease out of the land; therefore I command thee, saying, *thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in thy land.*"

In addition to this provision of mutual help by the Jews, the land itself was apportioned for the benefit of the poor in the reservation of a seventh of its produce, that is, every seventh year's crop for their sole use and enjoyment. This was commanded as follows: "And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shall gather in the fruits thereof; but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still, *that the poor of thy people may eat*; and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard and with thy olive-yard."

These brief quotations from the abiding precepts of God's law to his people evidently indicate the divine purpose that, though the poor would never cease out of the land, yet they should never perish through want of the necessaries and even the comforts of life, for not only should their richer brethren open their hearts and their hands to supply their need, but also the land should be laid under regular contribution to the extent of a seventh, so that the poor should have a living, even to the extent of still leaving a portion over and remaining for the beasts of the field.

The performance of this duty is also, we believe, rendered as binding under the Christian dispensation as in the former age. The continuity of this benevolent purpose is maintained and secured by its re-ordination by Jesus Christ and his apostles. Jesus said, "But rather give alms of such as ye have." The words "alms," and "almsgiving," as denoting a well-known duty amongst the Jews, were frequently used by our Saviour; and his words were always in encouragement of the performance of the duty. Weekly collections in the earliest Christian churches were made for the *poor saints*. The apostle wrote, "As we have opportunity let us do good unto all men, especially to them who are of the household of faith." One of the most powerful apostolic appeals on this duty is that of the apostle Paul in a letter to the Corinthian Church, in which he refers to the gathering in of the manna by the Jews in the wilderness. His words are, "For if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not. For I mean not that other men be eased and ye burdened; but by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want: that there may be equality: as it is written, *he that had gathered much had nothing over; and he that had gathered little had no lack.*

In these latter words the paradox of benevolence is stated, the key to it being that each helped the other; those who had a larger

measure or were stronger, and thus gathered a greater store of the manna, yet had nothing over, for they gave to their less fortunate neighbour, and supplied his need, and the latter, in his turn, though he gathered little yet had no lack, for the overflowing of his neighbour's basket had been swept into his own till it was filled. And this simple incident embodies the whole principle of christian benevolence, which is an ordinance of God from the beginning.

But now, granting these two departments of the christian duty of beneficence, namely, giving for the service of God, and giving for the help of humanity, as we believe most christians will do, we have still to meet the very important question, in what manner and to what extent is a christian to perform this duty? There are two important queries that may be put; *how* and *how much* shall he give? Now, in reply to these queries, we consider there is a rule laid down in the New Testament which may be taken as a guiding principle. "On the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him." As an exposition of this passage Paley says, "By this I understand St. Paul to recommend what is the very thing wanting with most men, *the being charitable upon a plan*; that is, upon a deliberate comparison of our fortunes with the reasonable expenses and expectations of our families; to compute what we have to spare, and to lay by so much for charitable purposes in some mode or other."

In this injunction or exhortation of the apostle, systematic beneficence is enjoined upon Christians; a regular, proportionate, and conscientious rating or assessment of a man's income is required; he must sum up his profits, if from a trade or profession, and assess them for God; he must jot down his wage or salary, and tithe it; "let every one among you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him." The prosperity is the gift or act of God, then it is to be acknowledged to God. The very act of doing so, of taking from the gross result of our labour a certain sum or tithing and setting it aside, either in act or by resolve, is an act of consecration, and one which will be divinely rewarded. In this rule also we have no reference to a fixed amount; the New Testament does not fix a sum for any man's contribution, but gives a principle which meets every case. Every man may calculate for himself: it is the rule of proportion. As God has given so we are to give.

The regulation is also made that our giving shall be systematic and regular. "Upon the first day of the week." It was requested by the apostle that, in anticipation of his coming to gather up their gifts, they should regularly and weekly lay by in store for it, so that their contributions would be conscientious, deliberate, and willing. It would also save trouble, which it was not necessary the apostle should incur; "that there be no gatherings

when I come." There can be very little question that the system of a regular offering would be more expedient and more salutary both to the giver and to the promotion of the objects of the gifts. It would thus, as a Christian's duty, form a part of a man's plans; it would be more a deliberate and constant act, as a result of calm consideration and estimate of ability; it would be a regular acknowledgment of God's constant mercy and goodness to us in his providence and grace.

But what should be the proportion in our giving? We have already referred to the Jewish custom of bringing offerings to God; according to the law of Moses we find *two tenths* were expected from the people out of the produce of their labour. One tenth was given to the sons of Levi, and they gave each a tenth to the priests. Another tenth was devoted to God and to the poor, to be employed in offerings at the Temple, in feasts, and other services, of which the giver might even himself partly partake. Jacob, at Bethel, vowed that he would devote a tithe, or tenth, to the service of God. It may be observed that this vow of Jacob was a voluntary act; though it may probably have been continued by his family, yet it does not seem to have been held binding upon his successors in any respect. We may note, also, that the tithes paid by the Jews to the tribe of Levi were in the nature of a mortgage upon the possessions of the other tribes who held the land of Canaan; and, in this respect, these first tithes did not arise as acts of voluntary beneficence. It was evidently of the nature of payment, and that of interest in the land belonging to the Levites, who were at the same time not holders of the ground. The second tithe was more of the nature of a benevolent gift, and was also devoted to religious and social beneficence. In addition to these, as previously noted, the offerings of the firstlings of the flock and the first-fruits of the field were to be given.

We may then enquire, what scale of proportion may we consider suitable to the Christian age, and the varied circumstances and ability of individual Christians? We cannot, perhaps, apply the Old Testament example as a binding one; it may be too little, it surely cannot be too much. If the dispensation of "the shadow of good things to come" was worthy of these services and gifts, how much more the dispensation of still greater grace and glory! On this point, that is to say, the amount of the per-centage, whether five, ten, or twenty per cent. of a man's income, we are inclined to conclude, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind;" yet also we would add, let us try at least to excel the rule of Judaism. But with respect to the matter of having a rule and a proportion, we think no Christian is at entire liberty; we ought to fix some rate or proportion, and that must be in every sense "as God has prospered us."

With respect to this system, some have objected that it would be likely to disarrange the business of the Church and charities, if, instead of giving a certain fixed sum, contributions were given according to the varying scale of our weekly or annual income; in fact, that it would cause much irregularity and uncertainty in the sources of revenue for religious and benevolent objects. But a little consideration will, we think, prove that the contrary would be the more likely result. The very greatest evil of the present system (or rather want of system) is its irregularity and uncertainty. We think we do not exaggerate when we say that a very great proportion of the funds for the Church and charity is obtained by mere irregular efforts; given frequently from mere temporary impulse; exacted, it may be, from the pride of the giver rather than from love; obtained by artifice and scheming, rather than by simple exposition of duty. In short, instead of being a disadvantage or loss to the income of the Church, the adoption of the principle of systematic giving—say, at least, a tenth of income—to the objects of Christian beneficence would in most instances double, or even quadruple, the revenue for these objects. On this point the words of the Rev. Thomas Binney are worthy of attention. He writes, "If anyone lays down for himself the rule of devoting a tenth of his income to God, he does well. If all Christians would do that, there would be enough and to spare for all the objects of Christian beneficence. There would be no need for rates or imposts, taxes or endowments of any sort whatever. Ministerial support, the building and repairing of churches and schools, the expenses of worship, congregational societies, home, colonial and foreign missions, with every other form of philanthropic activity—all would be provided for by a tenth being taken from the sum total of the income of the Church. It is to be remembered, however, that for some a tenth of their income would be too much, while for others it would be far too little. A man with a wife and ten children, or a less number than that, in the position of a clerk, with a hundred and fifty pounds a year, is not to be told that he is subject to a law requiring him to give away, in spite of the multiplied claims of his household, a tenth of his narrow and limited resources; nor is a rich Christian, with fifty thousand a year, to be told that he does any very great thing, or that he discharges the obligations of his divine stewardship, if he gives *five* thousand per annum away and keeps five and forty thousand to himself. A *tenth* is a fair proportion, as things are, for the great mass of the middle classes, with average incomes, tolerably competent to their position; but it is not an amount which can be equitably applied to extreme cases on one side or the other—the struggling and necessitous, the opulent millionaire, the very poor, or the very rich."

Perhaps the most fair and reasonable interpretation of the phrase

"As God has prospered us," would be, that it applies to the amount of surplus left over from the supply of actual necessaries and comforts; that is, not so much to the gross income as to the surplus left with reasonable economy and moderate use. With this interpretation, the rule of a tenth, or any other larger or lesser tithe, might be applied universally without any injury.

The following is an extract from the statements of George Muller, of the Bristol Orphan Houses, on the question of proportion: "Should the reader ask us, What proportion shall I give out of the success with which the Lord may favour me? our reply is, no rule can be laid down. We are not under the law, as the disciples of the Lord Jesus, but live peculiarly in the dispensation of grace. That which should influence us is, that God gave the choicest gift he had to give, his only begotten Son, in order that we wicked, guilty sinners, might be delivered from the power of Satan; might obtain forgiveness of all our sins; might become the children of God; have eternal life, eternal happiness, and might possess an inheritance which is "incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for us." Now if our hearts are alive to what God has done for us in the gift of Jesus, if we really enter into the greatness of the gift and the greatness of the blessing which we have received in the gift, then we shall be constrained to love and serve God joyfully in return; and our hearts will say, What can I render to him in return who has done so much for me? It is, therefore, of the utmost moment increasingly to seek to become acquainted with God, and acquainted with the Lord Jesus, God's unspeakable gift, in order that we may bear much fruit in every way; and in particular also, in giving back to him of his own, with which he has been pleased to entrust us.

"But while there is no law laid down for us, the disciples of the Lord Jesus, according to which we should give, as in the case of the Israelites, yet shall we, the Israel of God, the true circumcision, do less than the Israelites after the flesh did? Shall we content ourselves with less than a tenth? Shall not we do more, yea, much more? Let it then be weighed by each, in the fear of God, what he will give of that with which God is pleased to bless him, and then let him faithfully act accordingly. And should it be said, But I do not know weekly how much profit I have made, and how much, therefore, I can give; our reply is, seek as much as possible to ascertain week by week how you stand in business, and give accordingly; and if, at the end of the quarter, or the end of the half-year, or the year, when you properly make up your accounts, in stock-taking or otherwise, you find that you have not given enough, in proportion to God's blessing upon your labour, or business, or profession, make up the deficiency. Moreover, be not over careful *in passing* the boundaries in giving, provided you give what is

ours; and you will not be a loser in the end. As a striking xemplification of what I have stated, I give here the account hich a Christian cripple sent me, with a little gift, in September, 869, regarding God's dealings with her. In the year 1858, when he was exceeding poor, and had been often so poor that it was a uestion with her how to obtain the absolute necessaries of life, he resolved she would give one penny per week in aid of the Orphan Houses; but God blessed her planting a piece of waste and with potatoes so after this, that she found she possessed in potatoes, and other items, at the end of 1858, £10. She now gave one halfpenny per day of all the Lord might give her. At the nd of the year it was found she possessed £15. In 1860 she loubled what she had been giving before, giving now one penny er day, and possessed at the end of the year £20. In 1861 she loubled again what she had given the previous year, giving now wopence daily, and had at the end of the year £30. In 1862 she ave threepence daily, and had £45; in 1863 she gave fourpence laily, and had £63; in 1864 she put aside for the Lord sixpence laily, and had at the close of the year £75; in 1865 she gave ightpence daily, and had at the close of the year property of the alue of £86; in 1866 she set aside tenpence daily, and was possessed at the end of the year of £93. In 1867 she gave one shilling daily, and had £150 at the close of the year. In 1868 she dedicated to the Lord 1s. 8d. daily, and this poor helpless cripple, who began to store for the Lord with nothing, was now possessed of £250 at the close of the year. She said afterwards, by his help I take another step onward. This godly woman once wrote to me something like this: 'Give, give, give! Be always giving! He that is not giving is not living! If you would be living, you must be giving!' If rightly understood, there is much contained in this."—The foregoing extract, as the utterances of feelings and convictions deeply felt, carefully examined by the testimony of the scriptures, and severely tested in the actual experience of the remarkable life of Mr. Muller, is well worthy of being pondered by Christian people.

As a necessary corollary of these conclusions on systematic and proportionate giving, it is evident that the mode of regular—say weekly—freewill offerings, would be the most favourable for the practical application of the principle. The offertory is more in harmony with the genius of Christianity; it is freeness, voluntariness, in opposition to selling, bartering, and compulsion, which latter are, perhaps, more evidenced in pew-rents, and the ordinary methods of gathering church contributions. At any rate, in practice, the truly voluntary principle, of receiving, say weekly, the freewill offerings of the church on the Sabbath, has been proved to be much more successful than the usual system.

In concluding our notes on this theme, we may refer to the evident connection between our giving to God and our receiving from God. In the apostolic letters the rule is laid down, "He that soweth sparingly shall reap sparingly; and he that soweth bountifully shall reap bountifully." It is evidently implied that God proportions his gifts in some respects to our gifts. At any rate it is so in the sphere of natural law; if we give to the soil, it will give back in proportion. In addition to this, there is a general intimation in Scripture that a condition of our being heard by God in prayer is *that we obey Him.* When the prophet Malachi rebuked the people for their disobedience in neglecting to bring up the tithes, he charged them with robbing God. He then challenged the people to try and prove God by their obedience to him, and see if he would not again return and bless them. Their land was withered, cursed; the windows of heaven were shut; no rain had been given; there was blight all through the country. And why? Because the people kept back the tithes and offerings. They had robbed God by putting the tithes and offerings into their own barns and storehouses, instead of bringing them up to God.

The words of the prophet on this occasion are very remarkable, and are, we might note, very frequently quoted—but only partially—in devotional meetings of the Church in our day. The passage is often quoted, as if relating to our prayers, "Hath the Lord not said, try me and prove me if I will not open the windows of heaven and pour out a blessing that there shall not be room enough to receive it," &c. Now, this turns out to be a rather serious misinterpretation of the passage. The prophet does not call upon the people to try and prove God by their prayers, but by their gifts. The whole passage is; "Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of Hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it."

There can be no doubt that if, in respect to this duty of Christian beneficence, as well as other duties owing to God, we were more conscientious and obedient, a richer blessing, in secular and spiritual matters, would come down upon individual Christians and the universal Church of Christ.

THOMAS PARKER.

ART. VIII.—DR. LIVINGSTONE'S TRAVELS FROM 1866 TO 1871.

The Finding of Dr. Livingstone. By H. M. STANLEY. London: J. Camden Hotten, 1872.

IN the last issue of the AMBASSADOR the present writer gave a *resume* of the facts of one of the chief exploits of modern travellers, the discovery of Dr. Livingstone, at Ujiji, on the shores of the inland African sea, Tanganika, by the dauntless correspondent of the *New York Herald*. But a deeply interesting question remained but barely touched—where had Livingstone been from the time that he disappeared up the banks of the river Rovuma, in the early part of 1866, to the time when Stanley met him, wasted, beggared, disappointed, and mortified: a "mere ruckle of bones," in November, 1871? We propose to answer this question by taking his letters and despatches, which are collected in the volume named at the head of this article, as furnishing abundant materials for the reply, and to follow the missionary explorer, and read the story of his travels and sufferings.

Dr. Livingstone had been only about ten months in England, on his return from his previous travels, when, at the earnest solicitation of his dear friend, Sir Roderick Murchison, he turned his face eastwards again, to determine the watershed of the Nile in Central Africa, from the regions lying about Lake Nyassa, which he had discovered in 1858, to the western regions of Tanganika, taking in about ten degrees of south latitude.

The work had been offered to an eminent official, whose name we do not disclose, but he demanded so high a salary as at once foreclosed the bargain. "Go," said the veteran president of the Geographical Society to Livingstone, "and you will return the discoverer of the sources of the Nile." He thought that two years would be sufficient to go from the coast inland across the head of Lake Nyassa to the watershed, and after that to begin a christian mission with some tribes on the slopes reaching towards the coast, and so home. In his own humourous way, he says: —"Had I known all the time, toil, hunger, agony, hardships and wrong involved in that precious water-parting, I might have preferred having my head shaved, and a blister put on it, to grappling with my good old friend's task. But having taken it up I could not bear to be beaten by it." So, to use his own phrase, he stuck to it with "John-Bullish" tenacity.

Early in 1866 he headed an expedition of thirty men, composed of twelve sepoys, nine Johanna men, from the Comero Islands, seven liberated slaves, and two Zanzibar men. They took six

camels, three buffaloes, two mules, and three donkeys, with all the goods, firearms, and instruments necessary for the special work to be done. Instead of taking the ordinary and easier route, they went up the left bank of the great river Rovuma. Why this course was chosen is not easy to say, unless it was the more quickly to strike upon the lake Nyassa, for no more difficult route could have been taken. The rank, thick, high, and hard-wood-like vegetation encumbered every step of their way. It was one dense, impenetrable jungle. For many miles they had to cut their way with the axe, which was a task of extreme trouble. The sepoys soon shewed their craven spirit; their grumblings soon grew into open mutiny; they tried to induce the doctor to return; then they so ill-used the animals that they all died; and worse than all they accused the Dr. to the tribes among whom they passed, of witchcraft and other strange practices. They were too lazy to carry their own firearms and impressed the natives, by their threats, to carry them. Baffled in all his attempts to reconcile them, he discharged the disreputable set, and gave them cloth to pay their way back to the coast. The country between the river Rovuma and the Lake Nyassa is an uninhabited wilderness, during the transit of which Livingstone suffered much through the desertion of his men, for he could only get on with extreme difficulty; and was many times driven to great straits in hunger, having nothing to eat but hard wild mushrooms.

They at length reached the region of the Nyassa, in September, 1866. He soon found that the remainder of the Johanna men were resolved to leave him. They took advantage of a lying report of a half-caste Arab, that the Mazitus, a plundering tribe, were in the neighbourhood, to desert him. The Doctor offered to submit the matter to the chief of the tribe where they were. The Babisa chief denounced the story of the half-caste as an unmitigated lie, saying that the Mazitus were a hundred and fifty miles away. But Musa, the leader of the Johanna men, broke out with, "No, no, Doctor; no, no, I no want to go to Mazitu. I no want Mazitu to kill me. I want to see my father, my mother, my child, in Johanna. I no want Mazitu." The Doctor replied, "Neither do I want to go near the Mazitu; I will go west past their beat." But no sooner did he turn his face westward, than the Johanna men ran away in a body. The Doctor says that he was tempted to shoot Musa, the ringleader; but he has been glad ever since, notwithstanding all the sufferings he endured in consequence of their desertion, that he did not soil his hands with their vile blood. To cover their infamy, they invented the story of his death, which story sent a thrill of horror through the civilized world. The vile fabrication was very circumstantial: that in an attack of the Mazitus, the Doctor was defending himself, and while loading his

one of the savages struck him down from behind, and that,
g the horrible death of their leader, they ran away. Such
their falsehood, which many feared was true, but which old
Roderick Murchison discredited from the first.

'om this point Livingstone and his few followers passed
ıgh a "virgin land," where the foot of the slave-trader had
:rod, and in all such cases the natives were kind and hospit-

But the next region they passed through had been despoiled
ıe plundering Mazitus. The ferocious marauders had swept
and of food and cattle. Here the small expedition was reduced
rrible extremities and sufferings for lack of subsistence, having
ing to appease the dreadful pinch of hunger but the hard wild
. But the condition of the hard pressed band was made still
e by the heartless desertion of several trusted men, who made
ith the Doctor's change of linen, &c. With misfortune ever
ing his footsteps, he traversed the entire length of five countries,
. he came to Londa, or Lunda, the country of Cazembe, made
m to Europeans by Portuguese travellers. Cazembe is the most
ligent of African kings, tall, stalwart, but dressed fantastically
prodigious kilt of crimson print. He said that he had heard
white man had come to look for waters, rivers and seas, though
his part he could not imagine what the white man could want
such things. But he was welcome to stay there, and should
here he pleased unmolested; but why would he go south for
r—it is close here? His introduction to Cazembe's queen had
a little of the droll, not to say the grotesque, in it. Her Ma-
entered, surrounded by a body-guard of Amazons armed with
rs. In person, she was tall, fine looking, and with really beauti-
features, and the stately procession seemed to be arranged to
ess the simple rustic white man. But the contrasts were so sin-
r and fantastic that the Doctor could not control himself, but
t into laughter; this was contagious, for queen and lady-
zons laughed too, and to cover the awkwardness of the
.tion, the queen and damsel-warriors rushed from the room.

his second letter to Mr. J. G. Bennett, dated February,
, he refers to this lady in eulogistic, as well as bantering
humourous terms; speaking upon her feminine weakness for
onal ornamentation, he says: "Many of the women were
pretty, and, like all ladies, would have been much prettier
ey had only let themselves alone. Fortunately, the dears
d not change their charming black eyes, beautiful foreheads,
y rounded limbs, well-shaped forms, and small hands and

But they must adorn themselves; and this they do—oh,
hussies—by filing their splendid teeth to points like cat's
. It was distressing, for it made their smile, which has such
t power over us great he-donkeys, rather crocodile-like. Trim-

kets and ornaments are scarce. What would our ladies do, if they had none, but pout and lecture us on "Women's Rights." But these specimens of the fair sex make shift by adorning their fine warm brown skins, tattooing them with various pretty devices, without colours, that, besides purposes of beauty, serve the heraldic uses of our Highland tartans. They are not black, but of a light warm brown colour, and so very *sisterish*—if I may use the new coinage—it feels an injury done to one's self to see a bit of grass stuck through the cartilage of the nose, so as to bulge out the *alæ nasi*. Cazembe's queen would be esteemed a real beauty in London, Paris, or New York, and yet she had a small hole through the cartilage near the tip of her fine, slightly aquiline nose. But she had only filed outside of the two points of her superb snow-white teeth; and then what a laugh she had! Let those who wish to know, go and see her carried to her farm in her pony phaeton, which is a sort of throne fastened on to two long poles, and carried by twelve stalwart citizens. If they take Punch's motto for Cazembe, "Niggers don't require to be shot here," as their own, they may show themselves to be men; but whether they do or not, Cazembe will show himself a man of sterling good sense."

But to take up the thread of Livingstone's journey. He was misled by Cazembe's remark that the waters were close to him; this, taken in connection with the fact that he had crossed an important river called Chambezi, led him to conclude that the Chambezi was the head waters of the river Zambezi, which will be for ever connected with the name of Livingstone, by his previous discoveries. In his theory he was also supported by Portuguese travellers. This error cost him two years' harrassing and exhausting labour. He had to re-travel his ground, and over and over again he traversed countries watered by rivers connected with the Chambezi.

From 1867 to 1869, he roamed like an uneasy spirit, asking questions of every one as to the course of the streams, until he was obliged to desist, lest they should say that he was mad, and had the "river on the brain." He, with much labour and suffering established the fact that the Portuguese Zambezi is a totally distinct river from the Chambezi, and that this latter river is the most southerly feeder of the Nile, thus giving that immortal river a length of direct latitude of over 2,600 miles, which is only a little less than the Mississippi itself. The connection of this river with the Nile system (as Livingstone firmly believes it is) was settled in this way.

In the north-eastern extremity of Cazembe's district, he came upon what he thought was a lake, but which proved to be the extremity of Tanganika; thence he crossed the Marunga, and came

to Lake Moero. Going sixty miles to the head of this lake, he found the river Luapula entering it. From this lake he traced the river in a southerly or backward direction, and found it enter another lake or inland sea, called Bangweolo, as large as the Tanganika. If his instruments were to be relied upon, it is 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, and on its southern or backward side there are mountains from 5,000 to 7,000 feet high. All this was accomplished through months of weary tramping, privation, and sickness. Having done this, he was compelled to return to Ujiji, the base of his operations. On his way through Cazembe, he obtained the release of an aged prisoner, an Arab half-caste, and most bitterly had the Doctor to repent of this deed of kindness, for the ingrate did his utmost to hinder, annoy, and plunder his benefactor. He was the cause of constant misfortune until they reached their destination. He expected to find supplies at Ujiji, but the gross mismanagement at head-quarters had already fallen like a curse upon the poor traveller. While supplies could be got into the country for others, and caravans were constantly coming and going, officialism at Zanzibar had learned to perfection, "how not to do it."

After resting himself on the shores of Tanganika, in the July of 1869 he crossed the lake, and set off upon his last and greatest series of explorations, the result of which was the discovery of rivers and lakes of the greatest magnitude, with one immense river connecting them all into one system; constituting, as he contends, the upper streams of the Nile. He went, with very few attendants and miserable outfit, in company with a body of traders, a march of fifteen days, which brought them to Bambarre, an important ivory depot in Manyema. For six months he was detained from ulcers in the feet, which "discharged bloody ichor as soon as he set them on the ground." The Manyemanians were reported to be cannibals. "And why," says the Doctor to Mr. Bennett, "go among cannibals at all? Was it not like joining the Alpine Club in order to be lauded, if you don't break your neck, where your neck ought to be broken? This makes me turn back to the water-shed, as I promised. It is a broad belt of tree-covered upland, some 700 miles in length from east to west. The general altitude is between 4,000 and 5,000 feet high, and mountains stand out at various points which are between 6,000 and 7,000 feet above the ocean level. On this height, this water-shed springs arise, which are well-nigh innumerable—that is, it would take half-a-man's lifetime to count them. These springs join each other and form brooks, which again converge and become rivers, or say streams, of twenty, forty, or eighty yards, that never dry. All flow towards the centre of an immense valley, which I believe to be the valley of the Nile."

From this "tree-covered upland" if a spectator stood looking towards the equator, or northwards (for the point of observation would be about 12 south latitude), he would see, supposing that his vision was extended for the occasion, an enormous trough with three large rivers running down it; on his left, or to the west, he would see the Lomame, or (Sir Parafin) Young's Lualaba, going through Lake Lincoln, so named by Livingstone in honour of the noble President of the United States, who was brutally murdered. This Lomame runs on till it joins the other two. About the centre of the observer's line of sight, starting lower down the trough to the Lufira, or the Bartle Frere Lualaba, and then to the right hand, there is the Luapula, starting from the immense Lake Bangweolo, running through Lake Moero, and after twisting and turning in a most perplexing manner, it runs through Lake Kamolondo and joins the Lualaba about six degrees south latitude. This river, the principal stream, the Dr. calls "Webb's River," after Mr. Webb, the wealthy proprietor of Newstead Abbey, whom he ever distinguishes as one of his oldest and best friends. He also found two smaller rivers rising in the mountains on the western side of Tanganika, and running westerly into the Lualaba. The main stream is the one issuing from the great Lake Bangweolo, and the others are tributaries. Livingstone's greatest difficulties occurred in tracing the Lualaba from the smaller Lake Moero to where the Lomame joins it. He describes the scenery of Moero as unsurpassed in grandeur by anything he has seen. "Pent in on all sides by high mountains, clothed to the very tips with luxuriant vegetation of the tropics, Moero discharges its superfluous waters through a deep rent in the bosom of the mountains. The impetuous and grand river rushes and roars through the chasm with the thundering of a cataract, but soon after leaving its confined and deep bed it expands into the calm and broad Lualaba, expanding over miles of country." The puzzle to the explorer was the course it took, and he had to trace it every yard, for soon after leaving the Lake Moero it made a great bend to the west for 180 miles; then it went north for a little distance, when it made another great sweep westerly for 120 miles; then it made considerable southing, but ultimately, after this tortuous course was run out it took the straight direction of north-east. In its first westerly bend it went through the large and splendid lake Kamalondo, with inhabited islands and magnificent scenery. Having discovered these four lakes, and traced these five rivers, all uniting at four degrees south latitude, into the great Lualaba, or "Webb's River;" having carefully explored 600 miles of this great watershed; having almost sighted the large unknown lake; and having come within 100 miles of the end, where he could have identified Webb's Lualaba with the acknowledged Nile, he was compelled, just as the casket containing his precious treasure

was within his grasp, by the cruel and heartless desertion of his attendants, to give up his enterprise and leave the work of four years unaccomplished. The journey back was one of suffering; every mile of the weary road had to be tramped by this heart-sore, mortified, wasted, but still undaunted man.

Let us now in a few words state the dispute between Livingstone and the home geographers and savants as to the sources of the Nile. We have seen that the Doctor's theory is verified to within one hundred miles. There are two ways for the Lualaba to run into the Nile; one is into Baker's, or Albert Nyanza, the other is the eastern branch, or Petherick's Bahr-el-Ghazel. The difficulty with regard to the first is, that according to present measurements the most northerly point of Livingstone's wonderful river is only 2,000 feet above sea level, whilst Baker makes his Nyanza to be 2,700 feet. If these measurements are reliable, that renders it impossible for the Lualaba to be connected with Baker's lake; on the other hand, Petherick's Bahr-el-Ghazel is only 2,000 feet over ocean level, so that Livingstone's Lualaba may be the upper part of Petherick's branch of the White Nile. It is quite probable that Livingstone's altitudes will have to be corrected, for his instruments were roughly handled, and consequently impaired in all his six years' wanderings. There is another circumstance to be noted. An Italian traveller discovered a a lake from which Petherick's White Nile issues out through reedy marshes; this answers to the Lualaba, inasmuch as Webb's River from Bangweolo is a lacustrine, or swampy river. So far probabilities are in favour of Livingstone's theory. But the three things which lead geographers to doubt this theory of the Nile system are summarised by Dr. Behm, a German savant, (an authorised translation of whose work now lies before us,) and which he takes chiefly from the explorations of Dr. Schweinfurth; they are these: the time rainfall; the volume of water conveyed by the rivers; and the Ulegga Mountains crossing the course of Webb's Lualaba. With regard to the first, the time of the rainfall, the Bahr-el-Ghazel, Petherick's Nile, rises from May to August; in the latter month it is at its highest, and decreases from October, and reaches its lowest in March. The Lualaba rises from November to January, and decreases from April to August. This shows a discrepancy not easily accounted for, while it agrees with the Congo, which rises and decreases in the same months. Then, with regard to the volume of water, it is found that Petherick's White Nile is only 481 feet in breadth, while the Lualaba, at Livingstone's farthest, in 1871, is 6,000 feet in breadth. In addition to this, Petherick's river conveys only 3,024 cubic feet of water per second, while the Lualaba conveys 124,000. This, too, corresponds with the Congo, for it is 9,000 feet broad, and conveys 1,800,000 cubic feet per second.

These facts show that the Congo belongs to the giant rivers of the earth, and in some respects exceeds the Mississippi. The American river varies much in depth, according to the seasons, while the Congo only varies about 8 or 9 feet. The reasonable conclusion, therefore, is that it is supplied from immense lakes. Dr. Behm says, "While the Congo is the only African river large enough to carry off the Lualaba, it in its turn has need of the latter being connected with it to account for its own enormous volume of water." The third difficulty arises from the range of Ulegga Mountains, which crosses the course of the Lualaba in its northerly running, standing in the way from east to west. That there may be rifts in the mountain range for this great river to flow through cannot be denied; but it forms no small difficulty in the way of Livingstone's theory. For these reasons the gentlemen at home say that Livingstone must be content with the secondary honour of discovering the sources of the greater river Congo. These moot questions will soon be settled, for the brave missionary-explorer set out last August from Unyanyembe with the equipment sent to him by Mr. Stanley to complete the work he had undertaken. But in addition to Livingstone's researches, Lieutenant Grundy is leading an expedition from the Congo coast, to discover, if possible, the connection of the Lualaba with the Congo; and Lieutenant Cameron is going to join Livingstone from the east, to be under his orders in this, as we hope, the final search for the Lualaba basin. So that in about two years we may hope to have the veteran traveller back home, and the Nile question so far set at rest. We say "so far," because until the innumerable fountains Livingstone heard of have been visited the true origin of the river cannot be affirmed. Should the explorations of our travellers show that the Nile rises there, it will only confirm the report of the Secretary of Minerva to the Father of travellers and historians, Herodotus, between two and three thousand years ago.

But we turn from the problem in geography to the countries in which, and the people among whom, Livingstone spent these years of weary, dreary, but yet successful, search. The two countries through which the vast swampy Lualaba passes, with its lakes, are Rua and Manyema. We know now that there are myriads of Africans who never heard of or saw white people. Happily the first specimen was a good one. He was often in danger from being connected in the minds of the natives with the Arab slave dealers. We know likewise, from these travels, that inner Africa is not one vast Sahara, one reach of sandy, burning desert, "its soil a fire, its wind a flame." It is a land of endless variety of configuration, of abundant and luxuriant flora. In his despatch to Lord Derby, the Doctor says: "The country

xtremely beautiful, but difficult to travel over. The moun-
is of light grey granite stand like islands in new red sandstone,
l mountain and valley are all clad in a mantle of different
des of green. The vegetation is indescribably rank. Through
grass—if grass it can be called—which is over half-an-inch in
meter in the stalk, and from ten to twelve feet high, nothing
: elephants can walk. The leaves are armed with minute
kes, which, as we worm our way along elephant walks, rub dis-
eeably on the side of the face where the gun is held, and the
id is made sore by fending it off for hours. . . . Some of
numerous rivers which in this region flow into Lualaba are
ered with living vegetable bridges—a species of dark, glossy-
ved grass, which felts itself into a mat that covers the stream.
ien stepped upon, it yields twelve or fifteen inches, and that
ount of water rises up the leg. At every step the foot has to be
sed high enough to place it upon the unbent mass in front; the
h-stepping distresses like walking on deep snow. Here and there
holes through which one might plump and finish the chapter.
ere the water is shallow, the lotus, or sacred lily, sends its
ts to the bottom, and spreads its broad, beautiful leaves, over
floating bridge, as if it were its own. Between each district
ge belts of primæval forests still stand. Into these the sun,
ugh vertical, cannot penetrate, except by sending down at mid-
y their pencils of rays into the gloom. The rain-water stands
months like pools of tea in colour. The climbing plants,
m the size of whipcord to man-of-war's hawser, are so nu-
rous that only ancient paths are possible. The shelter of
e forest from the sun makes it pleasant, but the roots of trees
ewed all over, keeps the eyes, ox-like, on the ground. The
es are so high that a good shot gun does no harm to the parrots
guinea fowls on their tops; and they are so closely planted that
ave heard the gorillas, here called "sokos," growling about fifty
rds off without getting a glimpse of them. His nest is a poor
ntrivance; here the "sokos" sits in pelting rain, with his hands
er his head. The natives give him a good character, and from
at I have seen, he deserves it; but they call his nest his house,
d laugh at him for being such a fool as to build a house and not
into it for shelter."

This deeply interesting and graphic quotation gives a good idea the country, but what of the people? The Doctor says that the anyema women are very pretty and very industrious. They work d carry heavy burdens long distances to their great institution, e market. Their markets are held regularly at places ten or teen miles apart. They barter maize, sweet potatoes, oil, salt, pper, fish, and even pigs, goats, meats, and grass-cloth. Their esses are gaudy-coloured, many-folded kilts from the waist to

the knee. The hum of their haggling, joking and laughing, may be heard afar off. Some classes of the women are expert oyster divers. In going to the market the women are never molested. Even in tribal war, the women pass with their goods unharmed. They live in a land of plenty, all kinds of food abound, and the rich soil produces luxuriant crops. The villages swarm with goats, sheep, dogs, pigs, and fowls, while the forest is an open field for wild animals, and in this free marketing system there is a general interchange of different commodities. Many of the men are tall, strapping fellows, with little of the negro about them. He says: "Slaves generally are extremely ugly; I have no prejudice against their colour; indeed, any one who has lived among them forgets that they are black, and only feels them to be fellow men. But the low, retreating foreheads, prognathous jaws, lack heels, and other peculiarities common to slaves and west-coast negroes, always awaken the same feelings of aversion as those with which we view specimens of the 'Bill Sykes' and 'Bruiser' class in England." Livingstone's conviction agrees with several travellers, that the ancient Egyptian, with his large, round black eyes, full, luscious lips, and somewhat depressed nose, is vastly nearer the aboriginal African than the west-coast specimen, who have degenerated in all respects.

He says, in the same letter, and not without a dash of sarcasm: "If a comparison were instituted, and Manyema men taken at random, placed opposite, say the Anthropological Society of London, clad like them in kilts of grass-cloth, I should like to take my place alongside the Manyema, on the principle of preferring the company of my betters; the philosophers would look wofully scraggy." But, and the "but" is a terrible one, they are "undoubtedly cannibals." Not that their cannibalism is of the ferocious, demon-like type found in the islands of the Pacific. In his despatch to Lord Derby the Doctor says: "I lived in what may be called the Tipperary of Manyema, and they are certainly (not) a bloody people among themselves. If they are cannibals they are not ostentatiously so. The surrounding tribes all assert that they are man-eaters, and they themselves laughingly admit the charge."

In a despatch to Lord Clarendon, he says: "It was long ere I could get more positive proof than would have led a Scotch jury to give a verdict of 'Not proven,' of their cannibalism. They eat only enemies killed in war; they seem as if instigated by revenge in their man-eating orgies, and on these occasions they do not like strangers to see them. I offered a large reward in vain to any one who would call me to witness a cannibal feast. Some intelligent men have told me that the meat is not nice, and made them dream of the dead. The women never partake, and I am glad of it." What may be the called theology of these

tribes is based upon the existence of the two great powers of Good and Evil, which they call "Ngulu" and "Mulambu."

Into the greater part of this immense country traders had not penetrated. The country is rich in natural commodities, in minerals, and large tusks of splendid ivory lie about in waste. The Manyema rear their huts upon ivory stanchions; for generations they have used ivory as wood, and it was lying about rotten and worthless. But the Arab traders were getting into the country, and they find Rua and Manyema an El Dorado. But what is infinitely worse the slave-traders were visiting the country. For while the ordinary traders spoil their markets by their rapacity and wanton cruelty, the kidnappers make terrible havoc among these peaceful people; they shed the blood of innocent women and children, as well as men, ruthlessly, and drag in chains their victims to the coast. Owing to the natives having acquired the skilful use of firearms, these human-demons cannot carry on their diabolical work between Tanganika and the sea, but in the Manyema country, where, until lately, the natives never heard the sound of a gun, and where they are divided into small clans, and are pastoral in their habits, and are timid and irresolute, these Arab slave catchers carry on their butchering and kidnapping unchecked. The Doctor often heard the Manyema say that but for their guns not an Arab should leave the country alive. So long as the slave trade is permitted at Zanzibar so long will these traders in human flesh kindle against them the fiercest hatred of the natives throughout Africa. Over and over again in his dispatches and letters does this noble and philanthropic traveller speak most bitterly of "man's inhumanity to man." In his despatch to Lord Granville he vividly describes a dreadful massacre which he witnessed on the banks of the Lualaba. The land sloped down to the broad river; in a creek were secured many canoes. It was a market day, and nearly three thousand persons were present. They were busy in their peaceful and pleasant trade of exchanging fish, salt, oil, grass-cloth, ivory, fowls, goats, sheep, pigs, &c., &c., when a monster named Tagamoio, at the head of a band of ruffianly half-castes, fired into the dense crowds; another party were stationed down at the river side, so as to rain their balls into the natives as they rushed to their canoes. An indescribable panic seized the multitude; all threw their goods away, the men forgot their paddles, the canoes got jammed into one mass. Being thus unable to escape, men and women leaped into the river, and a long line of heads showed the crowd striking out for an island a mile off. It was truly horrible to see them struggling for life with the strong current, and disappearing one by one, some throwing up their arms in despair as they went down; a few got canoes out, paddled with their hands to their

friends, who crowded in till the canoe sank with them all. One lady refused to be taken on board a canoe, because she feared that she was to be made a slave. Many fled in terror to the Doctor, whom he protected and sent to their homes. On that day well nigh five hundred human beings were slaughtered and drowned. Nor was this all, for Tagamoio's desperadoes continued to use their murderous guns and torches all day, and Livingstone himself counted seventeen villages in flames, and the next day six. He went to face the monster Tagamoio, and to demand the wives and daughters of the chiefs of the tribes, but the ruffian dared not meet him, he fled and hid himself.

Heartsore by this most shocking spectacle, the traveller commenced a weary tramp to Ujiji. The distance was between four and five hundred miles, with a blazing sun overhead. His body shattered, his mind dejected by dark and even morbid reflections, every step of the long, distressing tramp was in pain from the ulcers in the feet. In the forests spears lunged close past him from infuriated men, who suspected that he was connected with some band of men-catchers. In running the terrible gauntlet he incurred the greatest danger, and had many narrow escapes.

When at length in the middle of October, 1871, wasted to a "ruckle of bones," and his nervous system all unstrung, he reached the shore of Tanganika, he found that an Arab, named Bosher, the agent of Dr. Kirk, and the leader of a caravan of relief, had no sooner got the £500 worth of goods for Livingstone than he commenced his system of plunder. He was sixteen months in the journey that should not have taken more than three. He stopped at every station, and spent weeks in licentious riot with the Doctor's goods. He lay drunk for a month at a time. He dressed his women in the best, and sold what remained of the stock. He had pretended to follow Livingstone into the Bambarre country, but said that he divined by the Koran that Livingstone was dead, and so he returned to Ujiji, where Livingstone found him. We cannot avoid thinking that there was some remissness at head-quarters. How was it that in all these expeditions not one of them succeeded in finding or getting relief to him? There is no difficulty whatever in keeping communication open between the coast and Ujiji. While Stanley was at Ujiji he received letters from Europe and Zanzibar, and telegrams from Aden and the United States Consulate; how is it that not a word could be conveyed to Livingstone and hardly a line brought from him? We ask,—how is this? The fault unquestionably was in entrusting the outfit of the expedition to the Banians. They are Hindoos, British subjects from India. They do not belong to Zanzibar, they come there to "make their fortunes." Livingstone says: "I have lost more than two years in time, have been burdened with 1,800

miles of tramping, and how much waste of money I cannot say, through my affairs having been committed to Banians and slaves, who are not men;" and further on in the same despatch to Earl Granville, he says, "The religion of these Banians does not allow them to harm a fly, but I have been forced to see that those who shrink from killing a flee or mosquito are virtually the worst cannibals in all Africa. The Manyema cannibals, among whom I lived two years, are innocents compared with our protected fellow-subjects."

They hold the Customs at Zanzibar, and hold the commerce and revenue in their hands. They can connive at any crime, and can conceal any wrong. They are the prime movers in the horrible African slave trade. It is more than time that this horrible traffic should be stayed. It is computed that 70,000 Africans are dragged yearly from their home and native land to gratify human cupidity and lust; and not one in ten of those slaves live to see the coast. They are bound in wooden yokes in company, and driven with little food coastwards. After a day's march under a broiling vertical sun the strongest fail, what then becomes of the weak, the sick, the women with children? They fall, and are left to perish. From inner Africa to the coast the traffic is marked by the bones of these wretched "children of Ham." The present writer rejoices exceedingly at the attitude of the Government in relation to this inhuman practice. The mission of Sir Bartle Frere involves these two questions: the putting down of the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, and the carrying out a treaty between the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Rajah of Oman.

In 1802 the British Government had to interfere between three brothers, claimaints for the rulership of Oman. The father died in 1856, and after six years of turbulence we had to interpose, and settle the quarrel in this manner: The eldest son became ruler of Oman, the second son was made Sultan of Zanzibar, and the third recompensed and quieted. Under this arrangement the Sultan of Zanzibar had to pay a yearly subsidy of 40,000 dollars to the ruler of Oman, and we were bound to give effect to the treaty. Disturbances took place, and changes of dynasty occurred in Oman, but still our obligations remained, and now if we deprive the Sultan of Zanzibar of his income in the suppression of the slave trade, he may saddle us with the subsidy. How the diplomats may finally arrange the difficulty we cannot divine. The public prints report that the Sultan of Zanzibar has rejected the proposals of Sir Bartle Frere. There is no doubt that the system will die hard, but die it must. There is no chance of peace or honour being maintained among the innumerable tribes of Africa while the greedy Banians fit out expeditions and send them into the country by piratical and brutal half-caste

to plunder, kill, and carry off the unoffending natives. The state of things demands that this country shall crush the nest of evil-doers and give Africa rest, and when the list of the deeds done under the British flag shall be made out no item in the account will be more glorious than that crusade against slavery in the pestilential African seas; and when the earnest hope and desire of all good men and true shall become fact, and the curse of slavery annihilated, to no one man shall so much credit and honour be given for its accomplishment as to David Livingstone. He is not only in Africa as an explorer, but as a missionary of Jesus Christ, and as the enemy of the slave trade, and the true pioneer of a civilization which is destined to bless the long crushed Africans. In all his unparalleled sufferings, his perils and escapes, he has ever been the missionary and friend of the people. No man has ever worked harder in a cause, and endured more, and no man has ever deserved richer reward. And if he shall live to return, as this writer earnestly and anxiously hopes that he may, the heart of the people of these kingdoms will leap up to welcome him and to bless him; but Livingstone's greatest reward will be when the blessed influence of the gospel shall elevate and save the millions of Africa, and "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hand unto God." E. H.

Art. IX.—THE MORAL BEARINGS OF RECENT LEGISLATION.

The Public and General Acts passed in the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth years of the reign of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria; being the fourth Session of the twentieth Parliament of the United kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with an index and tables showing the effect of the year's legislation. London: Spottiswoode, 1872.

THE book we have placed at the head of this article contains the collective legislation of the Parliamentary session of 1872. It is distinctly printed, with marginal notes, table of contents, and copious indexes of references, and is bound in the usual plain style in which official documents are prepared for the use of lawyers, local magistrates, and others. This book furnishes conclusive evidence that, whatever may have been the faults of the last session of Parliament, it was by no means an idle one, for the legislative work it managed to get through was certainly very considerable in quantity, and dealt with some very important and

intricate subjects. It succeeded in passing no fewer than 98 "Public and General Acts," and 200 "Local and Personal Acts." The "Local and Personal Acts" relate to railways, waterworks, gas companies, harbours, fisheries, &c., and have only a local application. The other class of Acts constitute an addition to the general law of the empire, and apply to the people as a whole.

Our purpose in this paper is to make some observations on two or three of the more important of these public and general enactments, with a view to their bearing on public morality. The remark is often made by the opponents of certain schemes of Legislation, that men are not to be made moral by Act of Parliament. If morality in its higher forms be contemplated, the observation is doubtless correct; but if it is meant that an Act of Parliament contains no moral element, or that it does not exert a moral influence, in that case the observation is evidently untrue. Every legal enactment is in its very nature moral, and the penalties threatened by the law of the land exert the principal moral influence which has any appreciable effect on a very considerable section of the population. When we leave out of view that class of morals which rests on a religious basis, and is enforced by spiritual authority, the only code of morals we have left is embraced in the civil law, which may be said to constitute the *national* code of morality. Here there are two or three questions which demand a moment's consideration:—

1. What relation does the Legislature sustain to the moral law? We answer that the moral law is the true foundation of social order, and that the Legislature is that portion of society which is set apart for the express purpose of formulating and embodying in public laws the moral principles which are involved in the constitution of nature. Many of the moral principles so embodied in the civil law are felt to be of such importance that the public conscience sanctions their enforcement by the severest temporal penalties. The function of the Legislature, then, is to interpret and authoritatively apply to the various phases of social life the universal principles of moral law.

2. A second question presenting itself is: What is the supreme end at which the Legislature should aim? To this we answer, *the good of society*. This object, looked at in its higher aspects, includes much which lies beyond the sphere of civil legislation, but it also includes much which lies within that sphere, and which can only be secured by means of civil legislation. The securing of this good is the only reason for the existence of the Legislature. Whatever advantages to society, then, may in the nature of things be derived from wise laws, these advantages the Legislature is bound to promote, for this reason, if for no other, that society is the fount of its legislative power, and confers that power for the express purpose of promoting its good.

3. A third question relates to the limits of legislative action. The enquiry as to these limits is one of considerable difficulty. All we can do with respect to it is to state that the Legislature is conditioned by the end for which it exists, and that its action must be guided by keeping that end in view. The Legislature exists for the good of society, and not Society for the good of the Legislature; and among the advantages society is justly entitled to expect from the action of Government is the protection of the person, property, and liberty of each individual member of the community. To the unfettered exercise of his personal freedom, in so far as it is not productive of harm to others, every individual has a prescriptive right which no legislation, against his will, can justly be entitled to touch. The Legislature is therefore under obligation so to regulate its action as not to trench upon any of the inalienable rights and liberties of the subject.

Legislation, then, is a means to an end; the end being the good of society, and the means the embodiment in statutory laws of the abstract principles of justice.

In considering the moral character of any legal enactment there are two methods which may be adopted. It may be regarded either from its theoretical side or from its practical side, i. e., by enquiring, Is it in harmony with the moral law? or by enquiring, Does it tend to promote the good of society? We may lay down the two following propositions as rules by which the moral quality of any enactment of the civil legislature may be fairly tested. 1. When any law violates the principles of abstract justice, it is morally wrong. 2. When any law tends to demoralise society, it is morally wrong. While these two rules represent the legitimate methods in which a law may be criticised, it does not follow that they need both be adopted. Indeed, it will be found on examination that they may both be resolved into one; for if a law be morally good it cannot be injurious to society, and if it be injurious to society it cannot be morally good. The practical test, therefore, is all that is necessary for ordinary purposes.

Some of the legislative Acts of the last Parliamentary session were certainly very important, and such as may be expected to exercise a considerable influence over the moral character of the people. The first of these to which we shall refer is, "The Ballot Act." This Act is in some respects the most important Act of the session. Few bills have been passed into law in the face of a stronger or more prolonged opposition. It is only after forty years of agitation that the ballot has become law in England. The Act effects a thorough change in our mode of conducting Parliamentary and municipal elections. It contains thirty three sections and six long schedules. Its leading provisions may, however, be reduced to two:

the abolition of *public nominations*, and the introduction of the principle of *secret voting*.

With respect to the first, the moral tendency of the change is unquestionably good; for, on the one hand, there is no moral principle violated by the substitution of a written nomination, delivered privately to the Returning Officer, for an oral nomination, made publicly on the hustings; while, on the other hand, there is much drunkenness, rowdyism, profanity and public disturbance avoided by the alteration. In addition to this, the new system removes from the candidate and his mover and seconder the opportunity of telling the lies, white and black, they were often tempted to tell under the system of public nominations.

The principle of secret voting is less easily disposed of. The moral character of the principle is fairly debateable. Objection may be taken to it on several grounds. There is always a presumption against the rectitude of anything which has the appearance of a "hole and corner" method of dealing with public matters, and such a presumption must be admitted to lie against secret voting. It may also be argued that it prevents the manifestation of that moral manhood and courageous adherence to principle which is developed by the performance of duty under influences which threaten a man's private interests. It may be urged that, in the case of a man of high moral character and influence, it destroys the healthful and legitimate power of his example as a voter. Another objection is that, where a man is interested in the maintainence of some public abuse, it enables him to vote for it without feeling the salutory fear of losing his character for public morality. And it may be furthermore urged that, where a man is so far devoid of moral principle as to allow of his selling his vote, it enables him to commit the additional baseness of duping the man who has bought it. These objections show that there was at least some ground for the strong opposition raised against the ballot; but if any one will take the trouble to examine these objections, he will find that in most of them there is no great force. So long as the franchise was regarded as a "public trust," there was some reason in urging that it should be openly exercised; but since the franchise has been recognized as a personal right of the ratepayer, the "hole and corner" objection falls to the ground; for, if a man's right to vote be personal, he may justly demand to be protected against social coercion in the exercise of his right. As for the objection that the ballot presents the legitimate influence of a man's example as a voter, we think it does no such thing. The Act does not prevent canvassing; it does not prevent a man's declaring how he will vote, or how he has voted. It leaves him free to exert to the utmost his power of moral suasion. All that it does is to prevent his knowing how far that power has been

effective. The strongest objection to the ballot, in our judgment, is, that it emancipates the immoral voter from the influence of public opinion. But whatever danger there may be here, it should be remembered that it is only the danger which is every where incident to freedom. If a man is to be free at all he must be free to evil as well as to good.

In favour of the principle of secret voting, it may be said that the true object of an election is to obtain in the vote of the constituency an accurate record of its opinions; that, without the freedom of the elector, an election is a mockery and a farce; and that secret voting is the only means by which the dependent voter can be emancipated from the bondage of fear. That the ballot does secure the elector's freedom there can be no doubt; for the Act prohibits and renders nugatory the only influence by which his vote could be coerced. The question may, however, be asked, is the freedom of the elector a moral good? This question may be met by asking another; was not his enslavement, as well as the means by which he was enslaved, a moral evil? Of this there can be no question. The Act, therefore, which destroys that evil must to that extent, at least, be good. In addition to this, the evils incident to open voting, such as bribery, intimidation, treating and drunkenness, are to a great extent done away by the ballot; and although the ballot may have created some new incidental evils, these evils are certainly smaller than those it has destroyed. On the mere question of incidental evils, secret is better than open voting; but when the fundamental object is considered, the *freedom* of the elector, the balance of advantage is immensely in favour of the ballot.

We may note that the passing of this Act involves the recognition of the franchise as a personal right; and that consequently the provision which is made in it for a scrutiny, by numbering the ballot paper so as to correspond with the register, and so making it possible for the scrutineers to ascertain how the votes have been given, can only be justified as a means of detecting impersonation.

II. The next Act to which we shall refer is "The Licensing Act." Nothing has been the occasion of more hot debate than the bottle, and there is nothing which has a more detrimental effect on the best interests of society than the excessive consumption of intoxicating liquors. That the quantity of drink consumed in this country is excessive, is so patent a fact that, even the Government has been obliged to recognise and take action upon it, with the express purpose of diminishing that consumption. This Act is all that remained of a somewhat comprehensive effort to deal with the drink question. It is difficult to give a summarized statement of its provisions. Its general aim, however, is restriction and regulation. It proceeds on the assumption that fear must be kept in

lively exercise, if the drink demon is to be controlled, for the whole Act bristles with pains and penalties. It imposes some penalties on the "illicit sale of drinks"; that is, selling without a proper license; selling to children under 16 years of age; for using any other than the standard measures; or for having any internal communication between a licensed and an unlicensed house, or house of "public resort." It is hard upon "offences against public order": which means, anyone found drunk in public, or any publican who permits drunkenness in his house, or allows his house to become a brothel, or harbours prostitutes, or harbours a policeman when on duty, or allows gaming therein. It imposes a maximum penalty of £100 for adulteration; provides for the analysis of liquors, and requires that no publican shall have on his premises anything but the genuine article. It orders the later opening and earlier closing of public houses, both in the Metropolis and elsewhere, with certain conditions and exceptions. Where a publican is repeatedly convicted of violating the provisions of the Act, his license is forfeited, and his premises may be disqualified for license for a certain length of time. No new license to sell spirits can be obtained for a house, in any town of 100,000 inhabitants, unless it be of the annual value of not less than £50; nor can a license be obtained for a house in any part of the country if the rental be less than £15. The licensing power remains in the hands of the magistrates, but provision is made for the appointment of a "Licensing Committee of Justices," for each county and borough. Thus, by centralising the Licensing Authority, it may be expected that the granting of licenses will be less affected by the local interests and sympathies of the magistrates.

Such, then, are the leading provisions of this Act; the effect of which may be said to be the restriction of the liberty of the drink-seller and of the drinker. Here the question arises, Under what circumstances is the restriction of the liberty of the subject morally right? We should say that the restriction of individual liberty is justifiable where that liberty is so used as to infringe upon the just rights of others, or where it threatens the general good of the community. A certain sacrifice of individual liberty is involved in the very existence of society, and in obedience to the law of self preservation, society is bound to restrict personal liberty to the extent necessary to ensure its own safety. The principle of "the greatest good to the greatest number" is obligatory, not only on the Legislature, but upon every member of the community. Looked at in this light, the "Licensing Act" is a step in the right direction, and its principal morally right, for it interferes only with that liberty which was badly used, and tended to demoralise society. The fault of the Act is that it does not curtail enough of liberty. It is good so far as it goes, but it would have

been better had it gone further in the same direction. But here the cry will be raised that the majority is tyranising over the minority. This in the present case is merely a cry. It is the duty of the individual to sacrifice what is necessary to the good of the community. If he is unwilling, society must take the necessary steps to secure its own good, and if he cannot submit to this, his only logical alternative is to cease to be a member of the community with which he is dissatisfied.

III. We may now refer to the "Scotch Education Act." Barring certain details necessary for the adaptation of this Act to Scotland, there are but few important features in which it differs from the English Education Act of 1870. In those points in which it does differ from the English Act it appears to be an improvement upon it. It appoints a "Scotch Education Department," similar to the English, to consist of a committee of the Lords of the Privy Council. It establishes a "Central Education Board," to consist of five members, who are to meet in Edinburgh, and under the direction of the Scotch Education Department, to exercise a general control over the educational machinery of the country. It provides a school board for every parish and burgh in Scotland, with powers similar to those of the English school boards. In this last named particular it is in advance of the English Act, which, unfortunately, only imposes a school board where the denominational schools are insufficient to meet the requirements of the neighbourhood. It resembles the English Act in the following particulars: 1. It proceeds upon the principle of denominational education. 2. It leaves the question of religious education in board schools to be determined by the boards. 3. It gives the boards power to compel attendance and remit school fees. 4. It gives the pauper parent (section 89) the privilege of choosing the school at which his child shall be educated. On this point it is more explicit than the English Act.

The moral character of this educational legislation depends, in the main, on the solution of two questions: 1. Is compulsory education by the State morally right? and, 2. Is State education by the agency of the religious sects right? If the principles laid down in the early part of this article be correct, the first of these questions must be answered in the affirmative. If the youth of the community be allowed to grow up in ignorance, the result is highly detrimental, not only to the welfare of the children, but to the interests of society at large. No doubt the obligation to educate his child belongs to the parent, but if he neglect to fulfil that obligation, is the community to sit still and endure the consequences? Society is perfectly justified in taking the necessary steps to prevent those consequences, both for the child's sake and its own; and since the civil power is the organ of society, and is the most efficient means

of securing the object desiderated, it is proper that that power should be used for the purpose. There is no violation of anyone's personal rights in such a use of the civil power, so long as it confines itself to those secular branches of education on which we are all agreed. It is only when it trenches on the religious sphere, in which there are so many conflicting opinions, that an injury is done to the rights of conscience.

The second question, we fear, cannot be answered in the same way. If the distinctive doctrinal tenets and peculiar religious influences of the various sects could be kept out of their schools, then there could no harm arise from the use of these schools by the State for educational purposes. But the exclusion of these influences is precisely the thing the sects are resolutely set upon resisting; for to consent to it would be to deprive their schools of all denominational character, and render them simply national. There is no reason to hope that the sects will ever become so generous as to make such a sacrifice as this; and so long as they have schools under their charge, those schools will be rendered subservient to the interests of the religious bodies to which they belong. That the Government were aware of this difficulty is evident from their effort to get rid of it by the introduction of the "Conscience Clause." But the Conscience Clause does not obviate the evil, which is inherent in the very nature of the denominational system. It does not destroy the denominational atmosphere of such schools, nor does it neutralise the numerous, undefined and subtle influences by which sectarian prejudice may be instilled into the susceptible mind of youth; nor does it destroy the social pressure which in many localities would prevent any advantage being taken of its provisions. It would, no doubt, be perfectly legitimate for the sects to use their schools for sectarian purposes, if these so-called voluntary schools were entirely supported by voluntary means; but so long as they are carried on by the aid of Parliamentary grants drawn from the public purse, they have no just right to be used for the advancement of denominational interests. We think, therefore, that State education by means of the sects is unjust, for the system inevitably tends to promote the interests of those religious bodies who are fortunate enough to have schools under their control, while it weakens the interests of those who have none. In other words, it involves the unjust principle of making the State help the strong at the expense of the weak.

The educational legislation of the present government can, however, be only regarded as a compromise. The only logical and equitable scheme of national education, in a country of diversified religious convictions, must in the end be secular. But with the existence and present influence of the Established Church in this country, such a scheme could not be carried. It must, however,

come in the end. In the meantime, the present legislation, notwithstanding its drawbacks and the inevitable animosities it has engendered, will be productive of much advantage to the community at large. It is to be expected, however, that an effort will shortly be made by the government to remedy some of the admitted defects at least of the English Education Act.

We may conclude our observations by remarking that the three acts we have noticed, and which the Gladstone administration have the honour of having passed into law, are the outcome of noble and patriotic aspirations, and in spite of their defects, are calculated to promote the advancement of the nation in intelligence, sobriety, and freedom.

W. G.

ART. X.—MATTHEW ARNOLD CRITICISED.

THE name of Matthew Arnold will always, in this country, be associated with the doctrine of culture. Others have written about it before, but none so definitely and fully as he. None have used the term with quite the same wide and precise meaning. He seems to regard it as his mission to awaken the interest of his countrymen in it. This pervades, and gives the dominant tone and aim to, all his previous writings. But the times, he thinks, are favourable for a fuller enunciation of the doctrine; it is deeply needed. We are hurrying on to the vortex of social anarchy, and nothing can save us but immediate and general attention to culture.

And what is culture? According to Arnold it is a certain habit of mind, not of mere manners. It is the study and pursuit of perfection—of perfection harmonious and general—the main characteristics of which are "sweetness and light," or, in other words, beauty and intelligence. It sees the standard of this perfection in right reason and the will of God. It seeks, therefore, to make them prevail. It strives to get at reason and the will of God by reading, observing, and thinking, by turning a current of fresh and free thought on all matters, even the most sacred and time-honoured, which claim belief and call for action. It is not satisfied to regard things through the medium of traditional opinion and feeling. It strives to see things as they are. It is not in love with any machinery as such. It has no sympathy with the tendency to immediate action of some kind or other, which so generally prevails, and is so much applauded. It is more given to consider how to act in the best way. It does not tend to

self-isolation. Indeed, according to its expositor, it has a passion for doing good. It believes that individual perfection very much depends on the progress of society in the same direction. It is therefore bent on affording society all the help it can in the way of pointing out its real evils, suggesting the means of removing them, and indicating those courses which will best tend to its general and harmonious perfection.

With these qualities and aims, culture in the person of Mr. Arnold, looking abroad over the state of things prevailing in this England of ours, finds much that needs instant remedy. In politics, in literature, in religion, things appear to be sweeping on to anarchy. The forces which have long been urging us towards this frightful goal exist partly in what is common to human nature everywhere, partly in what is peculiar to the English character, and partly in certain bad habits which are fostered by some of our most cherished institutions. There is the natural inclination to the bathos common to human beings as such, parading itself in hideous or ludicrous forms, gravely unconscious that it is not sublimity itself. There is the national preference of doing to thinking, which finds its counterpart in the worship of wealth, coal, free-trade, bodily vigour, population, and organisations of all sorts. There is the all but universal disbelief in an absolute right reason, and impatience with any authority, which does not depend upon, and therefore merely represent, the opinions and prejudices of our own particular class. All which evils, so far from being held in check, are really promoted and strengthened by our public speakers and writers. The result is that we are rapidly approaching the vortex of general confusion. Mr. Arnold's national plan of salvation is attention to culture, as that habit of mind which is essentially opposed to these causes of our danger.

The cure of anarchy is the restoration of belief in, and regard for, competent authority. Culture, looking about for such authority to remedy the tendency which it observes to a general break-up of society, cannot find what it seeks in any of the principal classes of which society consists. They are all living in their ordinary selves. They have no notion of a best self—of a paramount right reason. To invest either of them with supreme authority would be but the triumph of vulgar, ungenial, intolerant class prejudices. Turning away, then, from Barbarians, Philistines, and Populace, culture points us to its idea of the *State* as the organ of the collective right reason of the nation—the active embodiment of its best self. The State, then, whatever its defects, culture suggests, must be upheld, and those who would weaken or pervert it must be promptly put down. For if it has not done much for us yet, who knows what good things it may accomplish by-and-by? In the meanwhile

order is the prime condition of progress. Mourning over anarchical tendencies in literature, Mr. Arnold thinks he sees a proper centre of authority in the notion of an academy after the French model. But he sighs to think how impossible at present is the realisation of his dream, so potent are the blind conflicting forces of national self-assertion and prejudice; and as to religion, why should not the State establish Pesbyterianism or Congregationalism on the same footing with Episcopacy? Then surely all reasonable and cultured men would find in the one or the other ample room for the employment and satisfaction of their religious faculties, moving at the same time in the healthful current of national life, and leaving to incurable fanatics their hole-and-corner systems, and the blind worship of their own peculiar fetishes.

It may betray a sad want of culture on our part, but to a great deal of this we can only say *non placet*. But culture itself must not be confounded with Mr. Arnold's private opinions. It may be successfully pursued by those whose views on many important questions differ widely from his own. We are not disposed to undervalue Mr. Arnold's teaching, so far as it describes the essential nature of culture, and points out the serious need for calling general attention to it at the present time, because we cannot endorse *all* his views and suggestions. That teaching in the main is sound, valuable, and timely. Certainly the nation needs culture as *defined* by Arnold, but not altogether as *exemplified* by him. It needs culture, but not Arnoldism. We say this because, unless we greatly misunderstand him, his views as to some of the most important matters affecting human interests generally and the interests of the nation at this particular juncture, are essentially wrong. The "current of fresh and free thought" which he has turned upon these subjects has somehow led him far astray. But culture itself is not to blame for this. It is not too much or too free thought, but too little and too superficial, which has done the mischief. With regard to the great questions with which religion deals, and with regard to Christianity in particular, he seems to have attained the shining mists of philosophical indifference to which so many cultured and imaginative natures find their way. And this is not because of their culture and their imagination. We believe that the chief element in the solution of this fact consists in what old-fashioned Christians call human depravity. It is only one of its innumerable forms and evidences. But we are persuaded that the world, which has a wonderful instinct for selecting what is necessary to its health and growth, will take and assimilate the truly valuable part of Arnold's doctrine of culture, that which relates to the essence of the thing itself, and leave what is merely Arnoldism, like an empty shell, to swell the

heaps of similar exuviæ which mark the several stages of human progress. There is but too much truth in the author's description of the present state of things. Nor is it likely, notwithstanding the assertions of the popular newspapers to the contrary, that such a condition of things can continue as it is, or that it will improve itself into something better. And it would be well if, instead of crying "peace, peace," or fostering these evils and the bad mental habits which produce them, the professed teachers and guides of the nation would urge upon its attention more of the sort of thing which Arnold recommends as culture. We have little expectation that this will be done, or that it would accomplish all that Mr. Arnold looks for if it were done. Our hope for the continued organic existence of society and for its improvement is not in culture alone, which even if generally pursued is inadequate to the task, but in religion. Not that religion can supply the place of culture any more than culture can be a substitute for religion. Their functions are quite different. Religion develops and directs the moral powers of man. And without this society cannot long continue in freedom, health, and progress. Religion, then, supplies those conditions in which alone culture can work with certainty and success.

But culture, as Mr. Arnold seems to apprehend it, is a far wider thing than will come within the definitions of it given in this volume. The more we read Arnold's writings, the more convinced we are that he does not really differ from Goethe in his view as to what is the chief end of man. His position seems to be this—man is greater than all systems and doctrines; whatever is according to nature is right; human nature is a very various and many-sided thing; the perfection of this nature of ours is the harmonious development, employment, and gratification of all its constituent parts; this should be our aim and object in life as far as circumstances permit; nature, reason, and the will of God are different expressions of the same thing; conformity to nature under the guidance of reason, which takes all the surrounding facts into account, is really conformity to the will of God, and in this consist our duty and happiness.

The fundamental tenet of this theory is self-sufficiency. Our great duty is to make the best we can of ourselves, with a view to our present happiness—to develop ourselves as much as possible on all sides—and to this end to adapt ourselves wisely and cautiously to the requirements and promptings of the nature within and without. And we must by no means relegate our bliss to a future life, if indeed there be one, beyond an endless transformation of impersonal and unconscious force.

But one fatal mistake marks this theory of culture. It ignores

the fact of man's moral weakness. To this sad fact passing events, the course of history, and the common conscience of men abundantly testify. And if Mr. Arnold had been as well acquainted with human nature as he is with human opinions, he would not have overlooked it. But it is here that all such theories inevitably break down. When applied to actual life they prove their impracticability, and by their failure witness for the need of some superhuman power to correct this inherent weakness, and enable us to attain that perfection of character which excites the admiration and desire of all candid souls. But while the culture-theorists will not admit the existence of this weakness, or if they do, that is from the cause and of the nature and extent that believers in the Christian revelation hold, they nevertheless feel obliged to recognise it practically, and to make some sort of provision for it. Mr. Arnold points us to Hebraism, of which Christianity is the latest and most powerful embodiment, as affording that support and nourishment which our moral nature requires. But he must surely know that Hebraism derives whatever power it possesses over man's moral nature from its supernatural facts and doctrines. Take away men's belief in these, and the marvellous influence it has so long exerted on the world's mind and on the course of human progress—the energy which has adorned that course with such conspicuous and affecting monuments of moral worth—will vanish at once. Now, it is as far as possible from our wish to misrepresent Mr. Arnold. But we cannot, while reading his books, resist the conviction that, whatever his own view of the Christian revelation may be, it does not at all resemble that of a man who recognises its exclusive Divine efficiency, and the objective reality of its alleged supernatural facts. We cannot imagine what can remain in Christianity for Mr. Arnold except a *caput mortuum* of bewildering and powerless legends. What, in such a case, can Hebraism avail to correct man's moral weakness, and to sustain his faltering purpose against the assaults of temptation?

But the advocates of culture go a little further in tacitly admitting man's moral inability. They accommodate their theory itself to that inability. They do this, first by deposing the moral from the grand and far excelling eminence which it has hitherto occupied, and placing it on a level with the intellectual. Hebraism and Hellenism are made to stand side by side as equal and component forces necessary to bring about human perfection. There is nothing intrinsically more excellent in the former than in the latter. Its chief value is that it supplies a sort of toughness to the character without which Hellenism would be imperfect and unstable. But sin does not really possess the specially evil and

character which Hebraism assigns to it. Nor is obedience to is called the moral law of such exclusively vital importance ebraisers commonly consider it to be. All this, if not dog- ally expressed, seems to us fairly implied in the doctrine of re, as Mr. Arnold holds it. And its obvious tendency is to i our reverence for moral excellence, and to weaken the force nscience.—*London Quarterly Review.*

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Cry of the Children from the ickyards of England: a State- nt and Appeal, with Remedy. GEORGE SMITH, Coalville, icester. London : Simpkin, rshall, and Co. Price One illing.

is not a book to be glanced perficially and then put aside : quires to be seriously pon- l and referred to again and . The scenes of juvenile dation, profligacy and suffer- unfolds in the brickyards of and fill us with mingled feel- of sorrow, indignation, and e. Indeed, there is so much e horrid and unnatural in the ations here given, that we are st led to question whether the r is not drawing upon his for his facts. But no : there t the slightest ground for such rmise ; there can be no doubt the appalling statements he iven are substantially correct. remarkable book carries the s of down-right honesty and fulness on the face of it ; and ass of corroborative evidence cumulates as to the validity averments is such as to put doubt altogether out of the ques- tion. But let our readers listen for themselves to some of the piteous notes from "The Cry of the Children from the Brickyards of England"—a cry burdened like the prophet's scroll with "mourn- ing, lamentation, and woe." The following quotations are taken from a summary of the principal evils complained of in the condition of children employed in brickyards.

1. *The occasional extreme earli- ness, and the general prematureness of age when the children are set to work.* "In the brickyards of England there are the merest dots of children set to clay-carrying— viz., within four years of age ; while four and a half, five, six, seven, and eight is the rule, not the exception, especially in Staffordshire." . . "Many, indeed, don't remember a time when they had not to work, work work, with as weary an exaction as ever the seamstress of Hood's immortal lay had to "stitch, stitch, stitch." . . . "The Blue Book evidence, and my own experience, and returns and replies sent me from score on score of brickyards all over England, make it incon- testably clear that from seven to

eight is the use-and-wont age at which boys and girls begin to work at this child labour."

2. *The disproportion of the work to the workers.* "A child of eight or ten has a daily task of brick-making that involves the carrying from early morning to twilight, five and six tons and upward of wet clay, over journeys yielding an aggregate of ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen miles and upwards. I beg my reader to give me ear and eye and conscience to facts from my own note-book. . . . I select typical cases. Thus, struck with the puny, miserable look of a small creature, I had him then and there weighed, and, though eight years of age, his weight was barely fifty-two and a half pounds; and what was his daily work? to carry forty-three pounds weight of clay on his head an average distance of fifteen miles, for an average of 73 hours weekly. Here is another: one small mite of a boy caught my eye among many others, similar in age and years, and engaged in the same kind and amount of work. Again I had the curiosity to have him weighed, and though he was about nine years of age his weight was within fifty-three pounds. He, like the former case, had for daily work the carrying backwards and forwards an average of forty-four pounds weight of clay on his head a distance of fourteen miles per day, and working seventy-two hours per week. The space traversed is from the clay-heap to the tables on which the bricks were made; and anyone reckoning the average distance and number of goings and comings can easily reckon up the sum total as above." . . "A brick-maker makes on an average 3,000 bricks per day, weighing about twelve tons; and these twelve tons were carried day by day by two children only, the measurement (in the particular distance) from the clay-heap to the brickmaker's table being thirty-five yards. It is thus found that each child has to travel six and a half miles with forty-three pounds of clay on his head, and another six and a half miles back to the clay-heap."

3. *Long hours.* "I want the reader to fix the fact on his memory that the brick-yard children's hours are ordinarily from five o'clock in the morning until eight and even nine at night, and in very many cases, all night at the kilns for one, two, and even three nights a week."

4. *Hard usage.* "The usage of the little one is of the most brutal kind. Kicks, cuffs, over-hastening, and oaths and curses enough to make the flesh creep, is the too frequent mode of impelling to work. The old-men, monkey-like faces, the shrunken, shivering, cowering, scared looks of many of the children are things not to be imagined. I myself have seen over and over the black eye, the unhealed sore, the swollen head, the bruised body, in little, very little children, that proclaimed sorrowfully their experience to be filled up by cruelty, murderous violence, impetuous passion, and punishment within not an inch but a hair breadth of life."

5. *Immorality.* "Facts in my possession demonstrate that in all brick-yards, without exception, typical examples of the uttermost abomination, prostitution, impurity, and loathsome talk and cursing are to be found; while it is the exception to have a married woman who has been brought up in a brick-yard unfallen previous to

iage. The lewdness, the bold- the unblushing familiarity, npudence of gesture, the mat- f-course falling in with the profligate indulgencies, the turning aside of mere boys girls in order to intercourse, etting on to it of such by the the meeting with a roar by and women of the discovery ch, the foul songs, the fouler ɔs, the filthy jokes, the as tricks and hitting of each , the low amusements through ıtermixture of men and wo- lads and girls, and the night- , are such as cannot be ed."

ıd what is the remedy sug- d by the author for these ıl evils? Let us hear him it in his own words:—

"I seek absolutely to pro- infant and child labour in -yards.

"I seek absolutely to pro- the employment of girls and ɔn in the work of brick-yards.

"I seek to have it enacted no one shall be permitted to in brick-yards sooner than twelfth birthday, and then when certified to be able to write, and cipher.

"I seek to lessen the hours bour to a *maximum* of from to ten hours.

I seek to have official super- ı of the health and treatment juveniles in brickyards, and ıhment to be felt by breakers ɜ law.

"I seek to place all brick- ı, tileries, and the like under nalgamation of the Factories' and the Workshop's Act,— ding all employing under as as above fifty hands.

"I seek to have Inspectors Sub-Inspectors who know the usages of the brick-yards, &c., and the inspection to be universal."

Mr. Smith, the author of this book, and who is an active and useful member of our own Connexion, has won for himself imperishable honour by the enlightened, persistent, and indomitable zeal with which he has dragged to light and pressed upon public attention the horrible evils connected with the treatment of children in the brick-yards of England. Already he has excited a deep and generous interest in this painful subject among people of position and influence; already his efforts have been rewarded by a partial amelioration of the evils complained of, and our earnest hope is that his large and loving heart may receive a full gratification in the complete success of his mission of mercy.

In the *Primitive Methodist* of April 10th there is an admirable sketch of Mr. Smith's history and life-work, from which we transcribe the concluding paragraphs:

The distinguishing work of Mr. Smith's life, that which has brought him publicly before this and other nations, and which will cause his name to descend to succeeding generations, is the long-continued and triumphant effort he has made to better the condition of the children in our brickyards. This work cost him hundreds of pounds, years of toil, and thousands of tears and prayers; but he never relinquished his purpose. Through obliquy and misrepresentation, disappointment and neglect, he laboured on till his efforts compelled attention to the terrible wrongs he sought to redress. He published his book, "The Cry of the Children from the Brickfields of England." He scattered the copies over the land without cost to any

one but himself. He sent it to multitudes in high position. Its plain and forcible and sometimes really eloquent statements of dreadful facts awakened attention. Members of Parliament and peers of the realm began to correspond with him. Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, the King of Holland, the King of the Belgians, the President of the United States, the President of the French Republic, and other eminent personages, sent him encouraging letters, which our space will not permit us to publish. His statements were quoted in the House of Representatives at Washington; our own provincial and metropolitan papers took the matter up. The *Graphic* did good service by its pictorial representations of the scenes Mr. Smith described. He read papers in Social Science Congresses. The subject was taken up in both Houses of Parliament. A law was enacted, and in January, 1872, more than 10,000 little workers were sent home from our brickyards to be educated. The details of this great work would make a volume; but success has followed persistent efforts.

Scarcely had victory been won ere the friends and admirers of Mr. Smith thought of a testimonial, to express in some degree their esteem for him. Members of Parliament, ministers of religion, and men of business formed themselves into a committee. Subscriptions were received from all classes of society, and on Saturday morning, March 29th, 1873, the Earl of Shaftesbury, accompanied by Lord John Manners and many others of Mr. Smith's admirers, assembled to make the presentation. The Earl of Shaftesbury accompanied the presentation with some laudatory observations, and expressed his conviction that the Government ought to have rewarded Mr. Smith and served the country by appointing him to aid in carrying out the law he had done so much to get enacted. The following account appeared in the daily papers:—

"Mr. George Smith, of Coalville, was on Saturday presented with a testimonial, at the rooms of the Social Science Association, in recognition of his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the children employed in brickfields. The testimonial consisted of a handsomely-bound Bible, a purse of 100 guineas, a silver teapot, and an illuminated address, signed, among others, by the Duke of Rutland, Lord Shaftesbury, the Dowager Marchioness of Westminster and Lady Theodora Grosvenor, Lord Fortescue, and Lord John Manners, M.P. Lord Shaftesbury made the presentation. Mr. Smith, in acknowledging the compliment, urged the necessity for the consolidation of all the Factories and Workshops Acts, and suggested that the light, clean, and fancy trades should come under a Factory Act, and the heavier kinds of work under a Workshops Act, for it was difficult at present to know under which denomination to place an establishment. Lord John Manners, M.P., proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Shaftesbury for presiding. Lord Shaftesbury, in reply, observed with regret that many of the provisions of the Factories Acts were neglected and evaded, and he urged that inspectors should be men having practical knowledge of the subject, and not merely persons who could

satisfactorily a competitive nation at Westminster."

Land. By J. P. HUTCHIN-. Houghton and Co: Pater-ter Row.

r LAND! The very name is ening to the believer, and is, vere, a password royal even e banqueting palaces of the ian's soul. "His treasure is heart are" in the Glory. Knowing that he has no ing city here," he looks rd beyond the bounds of time, ocks, the falsehoods, and the s of earth, above the tossings oubt, and the paralysis of ir, to the supreme repose and lightened and absolute wor-n which the spirits of the just perfect participate, in the liate presence of the King of. "Glory Land!" "The res of sin are but for a ," the glories of heaven are er. There we shall see the of Glory, our risen Lord, ysteries of holiness, the in-smiles of our reconciled r, not by the light of faith or np of reason, but by supreme mmediate intuition we shall m as he is and be with him er. Clouds and darkness, v and sick ..ess, the pangs of ointment, and the agony of r, will be unknown, for the God himself dwells in the of his ransomed ones; the Jesus will be all in all to his , and "they shall be like him y shall see him as he is."

s beautiful little volume is ed to raise our minds to the nplation of heaven, and by ting glowing views of it to se our desire for its posses-The subject is judiciously and delicately handled, and is treated with subdued fervour and well-regulated fluency. Its production has evidently been to the author a "labour of love." It gives indications of the workings of an active imagination, and is impregnated with a deeply religious spirit. It is divided into a series of chapters relating to "Our Departed Ones," "For Ever," "The Valley of the Shadow of Death," "Heaven," "Religious Life," "The Border Land," and is embellished with appropriate and well-executed pictorial illustrations. At the beginning and end of each chapter there is an original poem containing some beautiful thoughts, which we have no doubt will be read with great pleasure.

The following brief extracts will convey some idea of the character of the book:—

"PICTURES IN THE MIND.—Dear and more precious than the highest works of art upon the ornamental walls of the luxurious mansion to its wealthy owner are the portraits in the chamber of the mind, which hang there to be looked at and contemplated in the eventide, when the shadows rest lightly upon the objects around, when the present time seems as a passing dream, and we live again in the past among realities."

"HEAVEN'S GLORY. — Heaven will be much grander, much more glorious, than anything we can imagine. The poet's sweetest song, and the painter's richest achievements, fail to portray its wonders. The brightest figures of earthly speech cannot shadow forth its glorious realities. Only heaven's language can represent heaven's loveliness."

"HEAVEN'S SUNSHINE. — The music of nature is very beautiful,

but her silence is something dreadful to be borne. Once listen to the celestial harmony, and nature's melody becomes a sweet accompaniment, or rather an exquisite symphony. It is the sunshine of heaven that makes earth beautiful. The objects may be earthly, but the light that illumines them is not of this world, but cometh from on high."

"FRIENDS IN HEAVEN.—Who is there that has not some one in heaven? Most homes have a vacant chair; most hearts have a warm place for one that has departed. There is scarcely a household over which the dark shadow has not passed; and the name which was written in the register-sheet of the family Bible has also been graven on a stone in the churchyard or the cemetery. That mind is indeed poor that has not hidden away from the outside world pure memories that it would not lose; it is, indeed, dreary and desolate if it has not preserved portraits and semblances that are looked at when the heart is still and tranquil, when the winds of the world without disturb it not."

We recommend the book to our readers for the best of all reasons, namely, that we feel assured a perusal of it will do them present and everlasting good.

J. C. R.

Anecdotes, Illustrative of Religious and Moral Truths. By MATTHEW DENTON. Fourth series. London: G. Lamb.

Mr. DENTON is too well known as a purveyor of anecdotal literature to need an introduction from us to public notice. As the volume before us is the fourth series of anecdotes he has published, it may be safely concluded he has secured a good market for his wares. In this series there is no falling off either in the intrinsic value of the anecdotes collected, or in the rare and happy manner of telling them. It may indeed be said, that like "orient pearls at random strung," there is no principle of arrangement observed in putting the anecdotes together, that they are just ranked one after another as they happen to come to hand, without the faintest attempt at classification. Be this as it may, the anecdotes themselves are for the most part fraught with intrinsic value, and are told in an interesting, instructive, and impressive manner. The book may afford many pertinent illustrations of moral and religious truth to preachers and Sabbath school teachers.

A Bright Light in a Dark Place; or, Eminent Piety in the Black Country. By the Rev. F. R. ANDREWS. London: G. Lamb.

THIS charming book delineates the personal history and religious character of a holy, useful woman, with a group of interesting circumstances and surroundings which are graphically sketched. She moved in comparatively humble life, and her sphere of action was not large, but she took care to fill it well, and exerted an influence for good on all with whom she had to do.

The book is a beautiful *life history*, but it is something more: it is an able *treatise* on the important subject of "eminent piety," or piety in the inner and spiritual life, with its corresponding developments in the outer and everyday life of the genuine Christian. In this respect it resembles the life of

Jesus (the great examplar of all true believers) as written by the inspired evangelist John. As John's gospel has a central idea, viz., to prove that Jesus is the incarnate son of God, and as all the incidents and teachings of Christ are made to reflect their light upon and confirm this great truth, so it is in the book before us; it has a great central thought, and the events and experiences of this humble and devoted Christian woman are aptly employed to illustrate and enforce it. And to our taste this is the most welcome and profitable kind of biography. All the chapters in the book are woven into the same beautiful and useful pattern; but the fourth, which clearly defines what "eminent piety" is, and the tenth, which is an earnest plea for that which is the great want of our times, viz., eminent piety in all the churches, are specially worthy of attention.

The author of this welcome brochure is not much known beyond the murky regions of which he writes so well, and in which he has spent the early years of his ministry; but we doubt not his name will fill a far wider sphere in the future. He has not done much as yet at authorship, although he is favourably remembered by all those who have read his contributions to the connexional magazine. Seeing he is only about thirty years of age we may expect other and riper fruits of his genius.

The book is tastefully got up, and, with the exception of a few minor defects not worth mentioning is elegant in form as well as style. It is one of those books that is sure to be read, and we have no doubt will be rendered profitable to many. J. W.

Heart Yearnings; or, Living Truths for Living, Dead, and Dying Souls. By SILAS HENN, author of "Religion in Earnest," "The Beautiful in Christianity," &c. London: George Lamb.

THAT this volume of sermons should have reached a third edition says more in favour of its popular merits than anything we can say. After consulting it with some carefulness we are not surprised that it commands a wide circle of readers. It supplies just the sort of reading which suits the capacity and taste of nine out of ten of church and chapel-going people. It is not a deep book. It does not flounder in the quagmires of religious metaphysics. It does not vex the soul by starting questions which it cannot easily answer. It keeps on the broad and beaten highway of orthodox teaching. It deals with the main doctrines, duties, and privileges of evangelical religion in a plain, urgent, and unctuous style, supremely anxious to impress the heart and promote the spirited good of the reader. It also deals freely with illustrative anecdotes. As the general influence of this book must be beneficial we have no hesitation in recommending it to our readers.

The Christian Speaker: a Magazine for the Pulpit, Platform, and Pew. Edited by the Rev. T. Lowe and the Rev. W. Whitby. Published bi-monthly. April, 1873. London: G. Lamb.

THIS new magazine "is designed to meet a want in our Christian serial literature. It will, in each number, supply preachers with a full sermon, and several homiletical sketches and sermon outlines; lecturers with a lecture, address, or speech entire or in outline; hearers

with a variety of pertinent, soul-stirring matter, embracing essays, &c." As this number comes to hand just as we are going to press we have not time to examine it carefully; but even a somewhat hurried perusal of it assures us that it is marked by ability of no mean order. Several of the articles are, indeed, of quite a superior class, and the whole number seems to carry out fully the design of the programme. We give a cordial greeting to this new serial, and trust the edition will meet with generous support.

THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR.

ART I.—DR. CHALMERS: FACTS, REMINISCENCES, AND SPECULATIONS. No. III.

THERE is no great difference between the style of Chalmers' sermons and that of his other works. There is intellect—there is soul, looking up at you out of both. His style is "full of eyes round about." For word-eloquence, and mind-eloquence, and truth-eloquence; for rhetorical beauty, for philosophic grip, and for rich—though somewhat rough—artistic finish, the composition of Chalmers ranks among the finest in our language. It may lack "French polish," but it has Titanic strength. There may not be the prettiness as of fine feathers gleaming in garish light; but there is the shagginess of the lion's mane tossing in the stormy wind. Chalmers' style, both of thought and of language, strongly reminds one of an incisive *mot* of Johnson's:—"Milton, madam, was a genius that could cut a Colossus from a rock, but could not carve heads upon a cherry-stone." The sentences of Chalmers, quoted in the previous paper and in general, are salient with the spontaneity of genius; and they march like serried ranks to the charge. The tramp is martial and rythmic, as they sound on their way. The written words of Chalmers are Lutheran in energy, Miltonic in sublimity, Butler-like in insight, Macaulayian in brilliancy, sweepingly comprehensive as Burke or Hooker, and not unfrequently melodious as "the wood-notes wild" of even Shakespeare himself. The paragraphs cited are characteristic soul-flashings of a man whose words were "half battles;" "Le style c'est l'homme" (the style is the man). In fine, there is here in these paragraphs apparent the vast circumference of Chalmers showing a span or two of its glowing and corruscating rim, as it revolves through the spaces of a theme whose orbit affords "room and verge enough" for the progresses of its mighty force, and the transmission of its "spheral music." And yet, as already indicated, you will have perceived the Doctor's repetitive habit, and tendency

to turn his thoughts round and round; to the end, no doubt, that both himself and others might the better see and touch them. This habit, so offensive to smaller minds, and to hypercritical ears, itching for the lean and correct graces of mere Addisonianism—so far from being an infirmity, is, in our humble opinion, a strength. In short, the habitude giving rise to this reiterative mode of presenting his ideas, seems to have been a native idiosyncrasy of the Doctor's mental constitution; and, therefore, as might naturally be expected, there are marks of its ever recurrent and irrepressible activity in almost every page of his numerous productions, touching on so many subjects, and giving evidence, as they invariably do, of strictest attention to the laws of rhetoric, and the harmonies of method. This reiterativeness was very conspicuous in the college class-room, where he seemed specially desirous to fasten his thoughts and arguments on the youth around him, as with a nail in a sure place. "Motion without progress!" Not a bit of it. "Still it moved," and what was more, everybody was moved with it. Meanwhile, permit us, in this connection, to say with Tennyson,—

> "Better fifty years of Europe,
> Than a cycle of Cathay."

Chalmers' preaching was as warm—or rather, hot—as Presbyterian preaching, on the whole is, or, at least, was reputed to be, cold and ineffective. Put a great man and true Christian into any ism, and it will be much more likely to take-on his image, than he to take-on its image. How Dr. Chalmers *did*, and how Dr. Caird *does*, "create a soul under the ribs of death," Scotland is most ready and most happy to testify. Dr. Guthrie, too, though in another way—was a "king o' men," and a king of preachers, too. Before Chalmers and his successors became king, and reigned in the stead of the older dynasty of the Robertsons and "Jupiter" Carlyles, the Presbyterianism of Scotland might have been denominated the "Arctic region of Christianity;" which is the designation that the great Baptist of Leicester bestowed upon Socinianism. Moderatism (mere moralism) could not "coffin and confine" Chalmers; so he brake the shell and mounted upwards as on eagles' wings. In spirit, Chalmers was as catholic as Christianity itself. He was a *Christian* Catholic—not a *Presbyterian* Catholic, for that, we take it, is much the same in narrowness of feature, and coldness of pulse, as being a *Roman*, or an *Anglican* Catholic. If he had not put off the slavery of bigotry, and put on the liberty wherewith Christ makes free, he had never said of Methodism that it was "Christianity in earnest." One thing we remember him to have said in his sermon at Morningside. It was this:—"They see things very differently in hiven, my brithren, from what we do on airth." And, how the thought sat upon his brow, for there was room

enough; and revelled in his eyes, for there was light enough, as well as dropt in the fire-tipt words from his lips! Nevertheless, in spite of—some would say, because of—all his largeness, Calvinism, the cold and cruel, came down over his brain like mist upon the crags of Ben Nevis; and he confidently thought, and as confidently affirmed, that he saw the truth looming through *that*. In this he was as *dogmatic* as is the sun in the Dog Days. It is to be hoped, however, that they see things very differently from that in "hiven."

There would be difficulty to say, whether Chalmers the more stood on his dignity, or his dignity on him. There were great simplicity and condescension—which were majesty in another form—but there was at the same time an "awfu" dignity about him; not, however, of the inaccessible and repellant, but of the overwhelming, sort. And this native grandeur, not grandeeism, was not spoiled or rendered less dignified by the "Fife fishwife-ism," or whatever other appellative may be given to the various defects and gaucheries of voice, of enunciation, of manner, &c., which were so conspicuous to strangers, and so apparent even to those, the most accustomed to them. The splendour burst through the mist, and you did not *see* the "spots." The mind mastered the matter, and the electricity ran along the wires despite the adverse elements. It is greatness of intellect, of heart, and of practical character, that makes the man, and these will hide a multitude of minor defects and deficiencies. The man knew that he was Dr. Chalmers; but if this had been the *dominant* sentiment, we had not been writing about him to-day. He knew, also, that he lived in a *universe;* and so he walked softly; in a universe, with the Infinite One sitting on the circle thereof; and so he bowed his head, and laid his honour—great as it was—in the dust. Not many have the sentiment of infinitude, with the correlative one of their own littleness; therefore "not many noble." The greatest dignity attainable in this world—and we cannot conceive of a greater in any world—is to "do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God." And, among the many dignities of Chalmers, this was, *doubtless*, the master-dignity. Were there nothing else, the very ideal of such a man, as contrasted with his real, is enough to keep him humble. The "Nemo me, impune lacessit" that stood inscribed on Chalmers' face and bearing, was not the expression of self-esteem, which ranks in the lower type of sentiment, but of a nameless something that seemed to say, "Do not come up hither, unless you are *worthy* of the honour." But probably the emotion was rather felt by others, than by the great man himself. For, truly, the mind invests with the attribute of unapproachability, that which inspires it with the sentiment of sublimity, and the feeling of awe.

It will have been seen that we altogether regard Chalmers as a *sui generis*, or diviner kind of man in the world; and that such he was, is well known and readily acknowledged, by all who lived within the circle of his personal influence. Nor is it too much to say that in this circle his out-goings and his in-comings were watched for as is the morning. The true rationale or exact explanation of Chalmers' intellectual and moral ascendancy over the sphere of his time and country is to be sought deeper down than the intellect, the moral, or the animal, energy. These are, no doubt, elements in the phenomenon; but the chief factor of all, in bringing about the magnificent result, lay in that "mesmeric" or "electro-biological" something coming from the "unseen," and which is to be found in "great revivalists;" which, for instance, stirred like divinity, and rung like mellifluous thunder, in the "Mesopotamia" of George Whitfield, and in the "Glory!" of William Clowes. Would we, then, exclude the Holy Ghost from the work of revivals in the church? God forbid. Cannot He operate in, and by means of, one medium as well as another? In the church of God there are diversities of gift, and many modes of administering the truth; but over them all there is but one Lord, and "one Spirit" working through them all. Methinks Moses, and Elijah, and Daniel, and Paul, apart from their "supernatural," were, as to their natural, men of like passions, of intellect and of heart, with Thomas Chalmers. If there were not in our humanity a "psychic force" that can move men as well as tables, the world had never, under God, been turned upside down in any age, nor ever will again. Doubtless, there is a "spiritualism" of the Natural, no less than of the Supernatural; a spirit-power in Man, pointing to more than Materialism, and so ending in more than mortality's sad finale of "dust to dust, ashes to ashes," and the infidel's undemonstrable hope of an "eternal sleep." After Reason has confessed its inadequacy, and spendthrift Controversy has declared itself bankrupt, then Common Sense takes up her Parable, and, with no darkening of counsel by words without knowledge, says, among other things—

> "To die—to sleep—
> To sleep! perchance to dream; ay, there's the rub;
> For in that sleep of death what dreams MAY come,
> When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
> Must give us pause"—

should make our disbelief less dogged, our scepticism less cold-blooded; should make us "pause," and seriously ask ourselves whether, after all, Revelation may not have turned the "*may* come" of possibility, into the "*will* come" of certainty. To recur to the subject and phraseology in immediate point—this "spirit*ualism*" of the Natural, may generally remain unelicited and occult;

it may be but exceptionally and rarely manifested, but it is *there*, there as surely as the Divine Glory was physically in the Man of the Transfiguration, prior and subsequent to its outburst into sensible visibility. There is an Animal body, and there is a Psychical body. First, the Natural with the glory—as in Chalmers—sometimes shining through, and streaked with prophetic promise, like orient sky with the first dawnings of the unrisen sun. The theory of psychic force as applied to partially solve the problem of Chalmers' almost unprecedented potency of personal presence and personal address can go for what it is worth. "The earth hath bubbles as the water hath," and if this is "of them," it is only one other added to the many-coloured array, already floating towards nothingness, on "the long glassy heave" of Thought's troubled sea, which cannot rest. The subject, we know, is beyond our depth. The well is deep, and we have nothing to draw with as we ought to have; but we have had our little say, and our readers will, perhaps, excuse the additional remark, that we cannot but think there is something in our theory, capable, no doubt, with the requisite data and analysis, of being wrought out into something like scientific form and logical conclusiveness. At the same time it is sufficiently obvious that the higher reaches of questions touching essence, make, and idiosyncrasy, in that phenomenon of phenomena, the human mind, do of necessity intersect the transcendental, and melt away into the inscrutable and infinite. That metaphysics, however, have largely to do with physics is a first principle of science, no less than of common sense, and of common observation. This was conspicuously so in the case of the man we are writing about. That majestic head of his, was, one may say, an index to the whole matter; a physical mind-piece, telling with indubitable correctness, of the mechanism and the metaphysics lying behind the "dial-plate," on which one could not look without perceiving how grandly the horologe was "going," and keeping time, with high purpose and the march of things. In fine, whatever the rationale or exact explanation, there was wrapped up in that bundle of life, called Thomas Chalmers, a mightiness of force, acting upon the souls of others, as it had been a very afflatus from a higher sphere, such as was indeed marvellous to feel and to behold; and such as the immediate generation, at least, which it fell upon, had never before had any experience or conception of. No doubt, the brain power and the heart power were large; and the *combination* of faculties, such as is to be seen only in epochal men, at intervals of centuries. No doubt, the face was clothed with splendour, and the tongue with thunder; and, greater than all, the "power from on high" rested upon him. But still, these things were not sufficient of themselves to account either for the personal influence, on the one hand, or for the oratorical efficiency and effect on the other. There must have

been—over and above these—an idiosyncratic spirit-force in the man, having its source far down in the unseen, and its roots taking hold of the scientifically indefinable, in that mystery-world or border-region, lying between the known and the unknown, where, natural and supernatural, respectively so called, from *our* points of view, so melt away into each other, like the colours of the rainbow at their meeting-lines, as to be no longer contra-distinguishable.

In spite of our repetitions, it is to be feared that we shall not succeed in conveying the desiderated mental photograph of Chalmers, to the conception of our readers. The picture should have come as it did to ourselves, from the man himself, direct to the living perceptivity. At any rate, no idea can be formed of what we have called his "psychic force," at all equal adequately to represent the *effect* of the thing itself. Sensation alone could be adequacy here. An Edinburgh gentleman, and friend of ours, who knew Dr. Chalmers well, writes us as follows, on having read our former articles:—"There is one thing I think you have done well in stating prominently—I mean the fact that Chalmers required to be seen and heard to be properly appreciated; and for want of this *seeing*, *hearing*, and (I may say) *knowing*, his fame, I think, will suffer hereafter." The force that gave him his preternatural power over an audience, was doubtless preternatural too. It was a strange and uncategorized force—a force quite natural to the man, and going with him wherever he went.

Well, on that particular morning at Morningside, we lingered about till the Doctor came out of church; for, as already stated, we had not yet got "plenty" of him, but—as the appetite grows by what it feeds on—wanted a little more; wanted as much as we could possibly get. There he is! His family have already got home, and he is alone. O that we could touch the hem of his garment, and get a little more of the wondrous virtue that so lately streamed in mystic currents all around him! He looks better, however, in the pulpit than out; and, the back view is by no means so imposing as the front. The "dome of thought," with its spacious "arch," no longer meets our gaze, being hidden under a bushel-of-a-hat, whose "nap," by-the-bye, very long, sadly wants the brush, and is looking towards "a' the airts the wind can blaw," and the eyes too have gone back into the mist. The mouth was now shut, and the lightnings were quiescent in their cloud. The dignity had vanished, and one wondered whither it had gone. The silvery locks are abundant, looking picturesque as snow patches skirting the crest of Lebanon. A white "choker," more like a "barfon" than anything else—and moreover, adjusted in a very slovenly manner—encircles the neck, and holds up a lower extremity of face, that looks like a very foundation of power. We know not what Lavater says about the

jawbones and chin; but we ourselves have generally observed them to be largely developed in men, remarkable for energy and force of character. The black coat looks rather seedy, having seen a good many Sundays, we fancy; and the inexpressibles are clearly "a thought" or two short enough, for the hurrying and short-stepping legs which they envelop. Moreover, the black silken or satin vest looks rather bedizened than ornamented, with a milky way-looking thing, extending from the neck down both sides of the pectoral region, in the form of a massive silver watch-guard. An "acre" of white stocking is conspicuous betwixt the aforesaid rather short pantaloons, which—by the way, unable to get a little lower, seem half inclined to go a little higher—and a pair of shoes, heavy enough to make a "clunter" anywhere but on a Turkey carpet, and tied, not with silver buckles, but with black ribands. Ah! yes; the head *is* the "chief end of man"—"God having given more honour to that part" than to any other. The head of the Doctor, as already seen, was of fine gold, but the feet are obviously mostly of clay, with far less of "iron" in them than might have been expected. Whilst the moral foundations are stable as the hills, the physical ones seem unstable as water. Whilst the thoughts and purposes of the man move with a stately and rythmic step, the feet of him actually "potter." Manner of walking hurried and furtive-like. Legs a little bowed. Body bends forward. Head looks downward. Appearance, on the whole, commonplace, plebeian, coarse. Verily, the man dwells in a house of clay, and his foundations are in the dust. That, the man, who so lately shone like the morning star? That, the man, whose gladiatorial stamp makes the very "lions" of the arena drop their manes, and "an awful distance keep"? That, the man, before whose eloquence—sweeping, tearing, and careering, like a mighty rushing wind—preachers like Hall and Irving, and senators like Canning and Brougham, "paled their ineffectual fires," and sat themselves spell-bound down, as at the feet of a divine Gamaliel? That, the man, who, like another Samson, shook the pillars of Erastianism in Scotland, and established that monument of his genius, the Free Church? That, the man, who, in a polemical correspondence, shivered to pieces the arguments of Lord Aberdeen, then Premier of England, as icicles are shivered? Yes; that is *he*. The very same. But oh, how changed-like, from what he was when the "auld wife" said she "kent him fra his pow and his een!" When he mounted the rostrum, or confronted the souls of others, he became transfigured, and his countenance shone as only his *could*. Yon ordinary-looking mortal in his "get up," who is scudding away up the walk to his house at Morningside, is none other than Chalmers the Magnificent—the greatest Scotchman of his day, and one of the greatest of the world's great men of any time. He has a

stout silver-mounted cane in his hand, with which he keeps unconsciously "proddling" the ground, as he goes. Quite unaware that eager and venerating eyes are following him, he turns in at the garden gate. The "psychic force," or whatever it is, has become latent; the magnetic atmosphere, or whatever it is, has collapsed upon its centre; the half-extatic one, so recently "in the Spirit," has again found his flesh; "the keen demands of appetite" are anticipating a good dinner; for genius, so airy in itself, cannot live on air, and psychic force, even, must be fed from the seen, no less than from the unseen. * He turns in at the garden gate, and we see him no more.

Chalmers, in his boyhood, has been described as "one of the oddest, strongest, merriest, and most generous-hearted boys in Anstruther School." But, idle and merry as he was, none could learn so quickly and so thoroughly as he could, when he chose to apply himself. Occasionally great men have been but unpromising boys, and quite dullards at school. Dr. Adam Clarke and Sir Walter Scott may be mentioned as instances. In the fully developed Chalmers there were two very noticeable characteristics—great power of intuition, and great facility of rapidly and comprehensively mastering any subject, that taste or duty called him to investigate. In these respects, "the boy was father of the man," as we suspect the rule is, notwithstanding some exceptions.

Within a few miles of Anstruther, is the University of St. Andrew's, where Chalmers became a student when only in his twelfth year. This fact, however, was no proof of any mental precocity in the boy, or any real fitness for the studies of a university; but rather of a foolish notion that then, and long afterwards, prevailed in Scotland, to the effect that a poor little twelve-years-old brain, possessed the powers to take in subjects which none but fully developed ones, ought at all to meddle with. There are two things we forgot to state in the preceding paragraph: namely, that Chalmers, neither as child nor boy, could endure either falsehood or blasphemy; and that the Pilgrim's Progress was the book which took the strongest hold upon his thoughts, and stored his young imagination with truth in pictures. The third year of his college attendance is said to have been his *intellectual* birth-time. Then it was that the intelligence awoke which never afterwards slumbered, but was ever reaching forth to things that were before. Then it was

* Speaking of the extraordinary or preternatural manifestations of human soul-force, in what is called Spiritualism, Dr. Fenton Cameron, of Derby, has lately said in the *Times*, "I studied the subject for about two years with great care. I am a man accustomed to the close and careful examination of matters intricate and difficult of solution. I have seen these manifestations in almost all their phases; and I am compelled to believe that there is a power at work unknown to science. From my little experience in the matter I am convinced *there is an extraordinary force or power in nature other than any known force.*"

that his natural enthusiasm and strong force of will, which had shown themselves from infancy, took a new direction, urging him on to great acquisitions in the study of mathematics, and enabling him to keep his mind, already full of poetry, under, that he might endure the "dry light" for a season, and steer a steady course to the end of a purpose which took no middle flight, but aimed as high as genius had carried a Newton, and a Laplace. True, he was intending to prosecute the clerical profession; but in that day in Scotland, it was very much a profession only. Intellect and sentiment alone are awake in Chalmers, and if nothing else ever do awake, he may still make as good a parson as "Shandy" Sterne, or as "Jupiter" Carlyle. The former had tears for a dead ass, but none for an unfortunate mother; the latter had a taste for Cicero, but only a sneer for the New Birth. The religious element was at this time, as dead in Chalmers, as it was in such men as these. Under the chilling influence of Moderatism (he says) "I inhaled, not a distaste only, but a positive contempt for all that is properly and peculiarly gospel; insomuch that my confidence was nearly as entire in the sufficiency of natural theology as in the sufficiency of natural science. The religion of my early home now appeared to me as a religion of confinement and intolerance—unworthy of entertainment by a mind enlightened and enlarged by liberal studies." But this was not all. The spirit of French Revolutionism both as to politics and religion began to heat his blood and turn his brain, as well as to cool his morality, and change his lingering affection for Christianity, into gall and bitterness. The British Constitution began to pale before the glory and prestige of French *idées*, and may be, the British Lion would yet be seen chased out of the world by the Gallic Cock! Voltaire and Rosseau were beginning to take the place of Peter and Paul; God's system of Nature was making way for Mirabaud's; whilst the grand old Bible itself was losing its consideration, by comparison with the Enclyclopædia of the *savans*; nay, Jesus Christ himself was growing less adorable than the Goddess of Reason; and, for the warm currents of Life and Immortality, a substitute presented itself in "cold obstruction," and Eternal Sleep. Some of the fellow students of Chalmers afterwards became men of fame in the world of letters, but the leprosy of Diderot and D'Alembert clave unto them to the end. From the same flowers, we are told, the bee extracts honey and the wasp poison. Sad, that the truth and wisdom to be found in universities, should ever be put into an alembic which transforms them into scepticism and vexation of spirit! At this time, however, the "mathematical devoteeism," as he calls it, was by far the greatest thing in Chalmers; and no doubt the engrossment of mind to which it subjected him, was a means of keeping his speculative powers and rationalistic proclivities, in the main, on the right side

of that line which separates between the antithesis of Belief and Unbelief. The fascinating power of his eloquence, so conspicuous in after life, manifested itself, it would seem, even in his teens, so that men never felt disposed to say, "Go back to Jericho till thy beard grow." On the contrary, they heard him gladly, whenever opportunity served, wondering greatly, moreover, how a "live coal," had got to *his* lips. It was then the practice at St. Andrew's for a daily prayer-meeting morning and evening, conducted by the theological students, to be held in the public hall. Thomas Chalmers was only in his sixteenth year when it came by rotation to be his turn to pray. His prayer on the occasion, it would seem, was an amplification of the Lord's Prayer, and the psychic forces were so alive with fervour, and whatever else there was in them; whilst the ideas and the words were so grand and original, that there was quite a sensation, universal wonder, and excitement, being produced by it. The same novel and delightsome impression followed on all similar occasions. Whenever young Chalmers "oped his mouth" there out-leapt tropes enow, no doubt; but there also out-leapt something else (whatever its right name), which found the *man* in the assembled, and so roused and shook *him*, as almost to make people imagine that Sampson himself had come again, in the form of a new moral power or "electro-biological" force (whatever that may mean)!

A raw lad of sixteen—a "poor perfection" in the form of a college student—setting an intelligent population, and that of Scotchmen, too, on fire with wonder and excitement! Surely, it is a "passing strange" phenomenon—a phenomenon, by the way, which reminds one of Wordsworth's words, slightly altered, that "*Teens*-hood shows the man, as morning shows the day." "I remember still," says the Rev. Mr. Burns, of Kilsyth, "after the lapse of fifty-two years, the powerful impression made by his prayers in the prayer-hall, to which the people of St. Andrew's flocked when they knew that Chalmers was to pray. How he called forth the wonderment of the hearers!" As before stated, when *we* knew him, there was nothing in his prayers that could be regarded as particularly striking. We have every reason to believe that the manuscript *did* repress and hamper him. Whatever might be his volubility and extemporaneity early on in his career, the case with him latterly, was so much otherwise, as forcibly to impress one with the idea that he was specially deficient in two respects, namely, in ready concentrativeness as to the right ideas, on the one hand, and in ready memory as to the right words, on the other. It is probable that the principle, thus expressed by our Lord—"To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away that which he hath"—has an applicability, even to Dr. Chalmers. A good idea of his later style of

prayer, is to be had from his Prelections; in which, prefixed to each separate lecture, a short prayer is given. Invariably in his college class-room, the daily lecture was introduced with a little read prayer, composed for the occasion, and made appropriate to the subject or phase of subject to be specially treated of. These, we say, are given in the Prelections.

In passing, we may just observe, that his class-room was always choke full; for, besides the two or three hundred students, there was generally a goodly number of citizens and of strangers present. The oftener his own townsmen heard the Doctor, the oftener they wished to hear him; and no visitor thought of leaving Edinburgh without having seen the greatest "lion" of that city of "lions."

Dr. Chalmers, Sir Wm. Hamilton, and Professor Wilson (the *Noctes-Ambrosianæ*-man), *must* be seen. If time presses, Chalmers, at all events, they must and *will* hear. In fact, the Doctor's class-room was literally a sort of Madame Tussaud's, where the great ones of Modern Athens, and of the world, were often to be seen. Almost daily, some. As for "a marquis, duke, and a' that," they were so constantly "putting in an appearance," that we were in as little danger of thinking *them* to be "heroes" as their own valets.

Towards the close of his theological course, sad to say, his philosophic faith in the existence of God, and the one idea, as he himself tell us, which gave rapture to his soul, the magnificence of the Godhead, gave place for some time to a philosophical scepticism, the "mathematical devoteeism," notwithstanding. It was Mirabaud's *Systême de la Nature*, that acted upon him, as did Delilah's scissors upon the locks of Sampson. This French work, which has been too often printed in English words, sets forth an eternal universe of mere matter and motion; and physical law as the supreme, though blind and necessary, power. This celebrated atheistic book, he characterises in his Natural Theology, as fitted "by its gorgeous generalizations on nature and truth, and the universe, to make tremendous impression on the unpractised reader." It has made more sceptics, perhaps, than almost any other work of the same kind; and is just the book to have carried away young Chalmers, as it seems to have done. In its day it shook theistic belief and the religious world like an earthquake; and many were the "rents and ruin" that marked its path. But, all is not gold that glitters. "Strip" this dangerous production "of its clothing, 'twould totter on the edge of nothing." Take away the "gorgeousness," and it is done for. Men require "sterner stuff" than *La Systême de la Nature*, to make them *philosophic* atheists, now-a-days. But, after all, neither Hume's, Spinoza's, nor Hegel's logic can stand before the logic of common sense and of common fact. Much less can the "gorgeous generalizations" of Mirabaud. Beattie's "Essay on Truth," it appears, was

the book which delivered Chalmers from the domination of these specious reasonings; and he could not have laid his hand on a better one for the purpose. It is a thoroughly philosophical work, based on the truest and most immutable of all principles—the philosophic principles of Common Sense. The metaphysics of unbelief, and the "gorgeous generalizations" of pantheistic atheism, so rampant at the present time, both in this country and on the continent, can stand anything, and get over anything but arguments based on the principles of common sense. "How can one best prove a God?" was once asked of an olden Greek philosopher. The sage, imbued with the principles of common sense, answered, "By opening one's eyes." Napoleon's "All very well, gentlemen, but who made *all that?*" (pointing the atheistic arguers to the stars) was a bit and a hit of unanswerable common sense. *En passant*, we may venture the remark, that had not Dr. Beattie been an Arminian in his theology, and an anti-Edwardsian in his metaphysics, he would have been far more made of as an author by his fellow countrymen, than has fallen to his lot.

It may here be pertinent just to say that, of all the great endowments of Chalmers, not one stood out with greater prominence than the faculty, if we may so call it, of common sense. This valuable—and may we not say, somewhat rare?—power was manifest in all his doings, is conspicuous in all his books; was the guardian angel in all his practical projects, and in all his speculative thinkings; holding him up, lest at any time he should dash his foot against a stone, and saying unto him, So far shalt thou go, but no farther; was enfibred in the warp and woof of his nature, ministering guidance to reason, justness to judgment, restraint to imagination, caution to opinion, sobriety to religion, with balance and humility to the whole man; in fine, common sense was the base, so to speak, of all his operations, saving him from crotchetiness and singularity on the one hand, and from over-enthusiasm and impracticality on the other; leading him by the simplest path straight to his point, and—other things being equal—enabling him to trample down impediments, to accomplish his purpose, and to achieve the many greatnesses that rise like pyramids along the course of his life; and which, as "footprints on the sands of time," declare that a giant has passed through the world, and left his mark upon it. With forceful suggestiveness it has been said, that, while a little philosophy inclines men's minds to atheism, depth of philosophy brings them back again to religion. For a short space reason may drop the reins, and imagination, moved by various impulses, may turn the mind into a wrong direction; but reflection will return, and reason reassert its kingship and right to rule; fresh accessions of knowledge, and further quicken-

ings of faculty, will make themselves felt; so that truth, with "a fair field and no favour," is sure to triumph over error. What we are wishful to say is this: that, where common sense bears the sway—everything else being equal—religion (or, for that matter, anything else) has nothing to fear. Common sense saved Chalmers once, in plucking him out of Atheism's Slough of Despond; saved him in numerous other cases; saved him from himself; saved him all his life long; and, helped by the grace of God, saved him finally into heaven. What *is* common sense? It is reason; it is intuitional consciousness; it is mental *clairvoyance;* it is *in*-sight; it is *far*-sight; it is *all*-sight; and Chalmers, great as he was, would have been little better than Sampson without his eyes, *minus* the common sense.

After he had finished his curriculum and left St. Andrew's, the youthful mathematician and theologian took to teaching, and entered into an engagement as tutor in a gentleman's family. How long the young Titan grinded at that mill, we do not remember; but one thing we *do* remember—that the situation was not to his taste. He was the right man in the wrong place, decidedly; and might, in that Sleepy Hollow, have become another Rap van Winkle, had it been his fate to be a Dutchman. But, being favoured by Providence, and with the *ingenium perfervidum Scotorum*, he soon got out of *that*. "The lightning loathes its cloud, the soul its clay," and assuredly Mr. Thomas Chalmers loathed the functions of a "Dominie Sampson," to which the gods, in irony, had for a brief space consigned him. In his twenty-second year we find him assistant minister in the parish of Cavers. A year later he became parish minister of Kilmany in his native county. For the short time, however, intervening between his residence at Cavers and his residence at Kilmany, he held a vacant mathematical assistantship in his Alma Mater at St. Andrew's. Science was still the god of his idolatry, and literary distinction the sole object of his ambition. Theology was nowhere; and as for Christianity he could talk eloquently about its ethics, but that was all. It was Nature, not Nature's God, that engrossed his thoughts and monopolised his admiration. The "altar-stair that slopes through darkness" up to the Personal-One, he diligently trod, but only to converse with the asthetics and the laws, especially the mathematical, of things. The great Other of Thing had not as yet cast its shadow before, at least over the realisations of his moral consciousness; whilst theologically and philosophically no less than by the keener intuitions of that higher spiritual perceptivity which is "taught of God," he had yet to learn that,—

> ". . . . . world to world
> Repeats the pass word of the universe,
> To God—*the name of Christ;* that one great word,
> Well worth all languages in earth or Heaven."

In short, he had yet a baptism to be baptised with; and how was he straitened, till that were accomplished. The high object of his ambition—the one absorbing idea filling his mind and guiding his activities was, to obtain a mathematical chair in one of the universities. To think of all the mind and soul, and strength, of an individuality like that of Chalmers, being given up for life, to the science of mere number and quantity! even though that science includes among its subject-matters, the stars and spaces of Immensity; and can boast of such quantums of cosmos, won from the chaos of human ignorance, as Newton's Principia, and Laplace's Mécanique Céleste! That had indeed been a consummation profoundly to be regretted; and no less a calamity to the world than a triumph of the material, over the moral sublime;—than the burying of a great soul under the mathematics of a dead mechanism;—than a giving to the less what was meant for the greater, by devoting to the relatively passing glories of the merely natural—energies specially adapted to serve eternal interests touching the world, at once on the hither side of its moral, and on the thither side of its supernatural, surroundings and belongings. Somewhere in the interval between his placement at Kilmany, and the year 1811, he tried for two professorial chairs. He was candidate first for the professorship of Mathematics in the University of St. Andrew's, and then of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. But, although it was remembered with what rare enthusiasm, and *éclat* of ability, he had discharged the duties of his session of mathematical assistantship in the former university, yet in both cases he was unsuccessful. For which, let Scotland rejoice, and the multitude of the moral and religious interests thereof be glad!

Whether or not Moderation had sentimentality enough not to allow her votaries to "peep and botanize upon their mothers' graves," we know not; but we do know that she used to accompany the Rev. Thomas Chalmers in little botanizing excursions on the Sabbath day. We forget whether it was at Cavers or Kilmany, where the following incident occurred:—One Sabbath afternoon the Kirk had to wait. The minister did not make his appearance. Has Imagination got him on her wings; and reveries so thickened the mist in the grey eyes, as to bewilder the sense of time? Surely he is not flirting with Flora in the fields—mother Moderatism looking approvingly on—when he should be remembering to keep the Sabbath day holy, and regaling his soul with Tate and Brady, in the pulpit? "Shade of Moses, and shade of Knox, where are ye? surely, ye dinna fa' on the Kirk o' this gineration! Forbye, we should be as weel at hame saarching the blessed Buik, as heving to wait sae for larned folk wha only preach Cicero, an lug in Christianity to confaarm paganism." We can imagine the sorely tried

congregation long deprived of the sincere milk of the word, thus giving vent to their feelings;—when, in rushes his reverence, hurried, flurried, and red hot, with sunshine and silk gown. In his haste, he has forgotten to empty his hat of his head, and other things it contains. Rapidly ascending the pulpit steps, and happening to remember where he was, he as rapidly removes the irreverent "nap"—when ("God forgie him") down over his raven locks, Geneva gown and white bands, falls a whole holocaust of botanical specimens,—"clean and unclean," like the things in the vessel let down to St. Peter,—which he has been gathering at a time and season, when he ought to have been singing "the old hundrdth" according to Tate and Brady! No doubt, he had more than once thought, on that holy afternoon (which was assuredly no desecration, the "most straitest sect" being judges,) that flowers themselves are sermons; and that,—

> "Little flower, if I could understand, what thou
> Art, roots and all, and all in all,
> I should know what God and man is."

He should, however—as the Presbytery would have said—only have "*beheld* the lilies, how they grow!" but should not have *pluckt* them on the Sabbath day, especially in church-hours. The Disciples, doubtless, plucked ears of corn on a Sabbath day—and were not condemned for so doing, even by the Lord of the Sabbath himself. But then, ears of corn were not flowers of the field, which makes all the difference! No, nor were the Lord and his disciples, so strait-laced as the sitters in Moses' seat were, and still are! We believe that the fourth commandment is part of the *Moral* Law; but we do *not* believe that it is wrong to take a stroll in the fields on the Sabbath day. If some people were as "strict" on Mondays, as they are on Sundays, it would, both be better for themselves, and look better to others. There is such a thing as being "righteous over-much," even on the Sabbath day. At the same time, we most readily admit, that Chalmers would have been much better without that incubus of moderatism which—like the world-ball on the neck of Atlas—so bowed him down and made his steps to totter. Rationalism—and what was, or is, Moderatism, but that?—not only unfixes the intellectual principles, especially those of religious belief; but it has also a tendency to blunt the moral perceptions, and render a man unstrict and uncritical with regard to "the weightier matters of the law." Rationalism, when it is conceived, bringeth forth doubt; but rationalism when it is finished, bringeth forth disbelief; and that of the most dogmatic and offensive kind. Sin, according to rationalistic wisdom, is a divine necessity. Sin is not to be regarded as the abominable thing which God hateth, but rather as an economic instrumentality

which God patronises; it being in *absoluteness* of truth, one among the all things that work together for good to the universe at large, and ultimately, to the sinner himself. The moderatism of Chalmers, however, never developed into the "broadest type." Though he botanized on Sundays, yet he never ceased to fear God, and read his Bible on Mondays. The theological David put on the cumbrous mail of Negativism, and went stalking about in it for a time; but he soon put it off again. It did not fit *him*.

A change was now soon to come over the spirit of his mind, the spirit of his creed, and the spirit of his life. The delusive dream of his sceptical night, was soon to be turned into the grand reality of Christian day. The conversion of Thomas Chalmers was not less obviously of God than was the conversion of St. Paul. But, "the bell strikes one"; which reminds us that the time is more than up. Analysis of the faculties, work, and influence of this great man, must be for the present postponed. JABEZ COLE.

(To be concluded in our next Number.)

ART. II.—A SUCCESSFUL MINISTRY.

IT has been said that the ministry of the Gospel is "the most important work in the universe." This witness is true. No other embassy represents such a court, and on no other work are such serious consequences attendant. Its design was clearly intimated by the Master when he commissioned Paul and sent him forth to "open men's eyes, and turn them from darkness to light, that they might receive forgiveness of sins and inheritance among the sanctified by faith in Himself." That same Apostle says that the work of the ministry is for "the perfecting of the saints, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of faith and the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." This idea wrought in him mightily, and he laboured and strove in his warnings and teachings, that he might "present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." The work is not one of instruction merely; our hearers are depraved through sin, and need a radical change—need to be converted from the error of their ways; we are, under God, to turn them to righteousness, recognise them as seals to our ministry, and as our "crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord." Our work, then, is before us, and a most momentous work it is. Wesley said to his preachers, "It is not your business to preach so many sermons merely, or to take care of this or that society, but to save as many souls as

you can; to bring as many sinners as you can to repentance, and with all your power to build them up in that holiness, without which no man can see the Lord." Henry Ward Beecher tells us that he delivered hundreds of sermons before he conceived the real design of preaching. For a long time, it seems, preaching with him was an end, but when he got baptized with the Holy Ghost, he saw that it was only a means to an end. "Then," he says, "it appeared a definite and practical thing. Preaching was only a method of enforcing truths, not for the sake of the truths themselves, but for the result to be sought in men. A sermon was good that had power on the heart; and was good for nothing, no matter how good, that had no moral power on man." And have we not a right to expect that a man called to this work, and doing it as it ought to be done, will have some measure of success in the work to which he is divinely appointed? A farmer, always planting, but never reaping; a lawyer, always pleading, but never gaining a verdict; a physician, always prescribing, but never healing—would be abashed in the presence of society, and would painfully feel that they had mistaken their calling. That would not deserve the name of fishing that ever hauled in an empty net; and no seminary could long exist that never turned out a good scholar. And if, after years of opportunity in the ministry, nothing but barrenness marks our course, there must be something wrong. We profess to be called to that work; we address accountable beings, who, for the most part, believe in theory all that we preach; the truths we utter affect their most vital interests for time and eternity; the Holy Ghost has engaged to assist us in the work; the gospel succeeded, and is succeeding now, in saving souls from death; and certainly there must be something wrong if we make not full proof of our ministry.

In speaking of the elements of a successful ministry we note, First, the truths to be delivered. We are commanded to "preach the word." This made living by the power of the Holy Ghost, is to correct all the errors of heart and life in human society. Its grand fundamentals, as God's hammer in the hands of His servants, have been mighty to break rocky hearts. Dr. Ryland used to say to his students:—"Mind, no sermon is of any value, or likely to be useful, that has not the three R's. in it—Ruin by the fall; Redemption by Christ; and Regeneration by the Holy Spirit." When Robert, afterwards Dr. Newton, left home for the ministry among the Wesleyans, his father accompanied him some distance towards his first station. The time came to part, and as the father had his son's hand in his he said, "Preach Repentance, Faith, and Holiness, my lad." Young Robert replied, "I will father," and was glad when, out of sight of all but God, he found a place where he earnestly prayed that He would help him in this purpose of his life.

Dr. Stevens, speaking of old Methodist preaching, says, "Seldom did the man who was inquiring 'What must I do to be saved'? hear a Methodist preacher without bearing away with him the precise answer. The lost condition of the soul by nature, repentance toward God, faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, justification, sanctification, the witness of the Spirit—such truths seemed to make up the alphabet out of which the very syallabification of their discourses was formed; so that it may be said, with but little qualification, that whoever heard an ordinary Methodist sermon thenceforward knew most, if not all, the doctrines of grace." And while men's creeds no more contain all God's truth than the whole nation is comprehended in one man's family, it is an undeniable fact that the reiteration of the grand truths of the Methodist creed have wrought wonders in the work of soul saving.

These include, first, *the sinner's guilt.* In Dr. Adam Clarke's "Letter to a Preacher," he says, "You preach, not merely to explain God's word, but to save souls; whenever you forget this, you go astray. Now, as no man can see the worth of salvation till he is convinced of his need of it; therefore, preach the law and its terrors to make way for Christ crucified." The same thing was expressed by John Berridge in his own quaint way, when he said, "Preach the law for conviction; use its carving knife; Moses will lend you a grindstone to sharp it on; and rip sinners up. When they cry out for mercy, bring out your Christ; he will be acceptable then." The great majority of our unsaved hearers know something of the theory of salvation, and occasionally have serious thoughts and feelings on the subject of their personal condition; yet through love of sin, or through the stupor it has brought upon them, they are going downward to the punishment of "many stripes." These require to feel more powerfully than they do at present the truths they profess to believe. Admitting as they do the chief doctrines of Revelation, the consequences to themselves of dying in unpardoned sin should be brought home by all legitimate arguments and illustrations, till, wounded by the Spirit's sword, they mourn like "one in sorrow for his first-born," and with bitterness exclaim, "God be merciful to me a sinner." Persons who were privileged to attend the preaching services conducted by John Smith, the Wesleyan Revivalist, have told us how he seemed to hunt sinners out of the refuges of lies where they had hidden for shelter; how he made the lightning flashes of the law to glare around them as they stood without defence; or how he seemed to flog them with knotted cords till they wept again, his own tears at the same time being the most profuse; how then he would preach Christ till men shouted and leaped for joy under the truth, and the dull monotony of orthodox decorum was gloriously broken. We have truths at hand, which, if skillfully used, should make sinners feel

that they are already condemned, and that their condemnation is just; that if sent direct to the flames of perdition they would for ever acquiesce in the justice of such a sentence—that in their present circumstances they are not so much unfortunate creatures, the objects of pity as guilty beings deserving of blame—that they are to blame for their sins, and that while living in them they are injuring themselves, corrupting their fellows, and offering personal insults to the best of Beings—that abandonment of all sin is their immediate duty, and that the only hindrance in the way of their personal salvation is their not yielding to the terms of the Gospel. These and collateral truths, brought home with that affectionate earnestness in which on such themes it becomes one fellow-creature to speak to another, will surely prepare many of our hearers to appreciate the doctrine of

A present Salvation.—This doctrine has been much owned of God, where sinners, stricken with a sense of guilt, have cried out in the language of the jailer, "What must I do to be saved?" What was the advice of the Apostle to that guilty man? He clearly perceived that he was pierced by the sword of the Spirit, and was willing to submit to any terms of mercy—that the work of penitence was thus far complete, inasmuch as it had brought him into submission to the will of God; and knowing that if the sinner by the awakening influence of the Holy Ghost can reach that point by five minutes repentance, he is just as ready to receive pardon as though he had repented five years, he exhorted him there and then to trust his soul to Christ; he did so, and was saved "the same hour of the night." All we know of God represents Him as delighting in mercy, ready to forgive, and glad to do it. The reason why the sinner knows not the joys of pardon is because he will not make application for it in a penitent mood. It can be shewn that a sinner is either pardoned or unpardoned—that he is unpardoned up to the time he is pardoned—that necessarily there is a last moment when he is unpardoned, and a first moment when he is pardoned—that no change can be expected in God, and that the sinner only changes for the worse till he submits and believes; right there, he should be held and pressed till he submits to God's way of saving sinners, and knows the bliss of forgiveness. Nothing which God requires of a sinner places pardon out of his reach, or postpones it for one moment of time. He needs it now, it is procured now, it is offered now, and now he may obtain it on practicable terms. In a moment the dying thief received it; immediately the penitent publican possessed it; and at once the Ethiopean eunuch believed the report, and went on his way rejoicing. This doctrine has been effectively taught by the most useful of the Methodist preachers. Of one, not in the regular Ministry, it is said by his biographer, "Present, free, and full salvation, by faith

in the atonement, formed the theme on which he dwelt with delight, and almost without intermission. In receiving the salvation of the Gospel, he had no opinion of delays, exceptions, or limits. He saw, in the strong commanding light of faith, Christ present, able, willing to save unto the uttermost; and, therefore, when he exclaimed—

> Believe, and all your sins forgiven;
> Only believe, and yours is Heaven,

it produced an effect peculiarly his own. In no man's lips whom I have heard speak on the matter of faith, did it ever appear to me that the word 'believe' meant so much as in his. When others said to the penitent, "You must believe," the words often appeared without force, and almost without meaning, but no sooner did he utter these words than the wisdom of God was manifest, and Gospel truth spoken in simplicity, frequently seemed like a lever that moved the world; hence the multitudes of captive souls who found almost instant liberty when they fell into his hands." Penitent sinners, who truly believe in Christ, will not be left in doubt on the matter of their salvation, but will be made the living illustrators of the truth of another doctrine of power, namely,

The Witness of the Holy Spirit.—A poor sinner, in doubt as to his acceptance with God, sent a message to a Methodist preacher, saying he wanted to converse with him on the "witness of the Spirit." He was told he could see him after preaching. He attended the service, but when the sermon was over he was happy in God; during the discourse God had explained the doctrine to him, by sending the Spirit into his heart, "crying Abba Father." It is still true that "he that believeth hath the witness in himself," that "the Spirit beareth witness with our spirits that we are the children of God." Abel had the witness that he was righteous. Enoch had the same testimony; Job knew that his Redeemer lived; and David was ever ready to declare to God-fearing souls the work of the Spirit in his heart. The New Testament saints knew that they had an house not made with hands, when this tabernacle fell, for they were passed from death to life, and this they knew by the spirit God had given them. John Wesley's heart was "strangely warmed" by the assurance of God's love, and hundreds of thousands of witnesses have been raised up since that memorable service at which he received it. In giving his definition of the doctrine, he says, "By the testimony of the spirit I mean an inward impression on the soul, whereby the spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God, that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and hath given himself for me, and that all my sins are blotted out; and I, even I, am reconciled to God." This seems clear, and is clearly the privilege of all believers in Jesus.

Now, a witness is not an inferential deduction, however logical in its process; nor a conjecture, however well founded. It is a direct, explicit testimony, given with care and distinctness; and thus God would have His children without doubt as to their acceptance with Him. No one need mistake the Spirit's witness, because wherever that Spirit dwells in the heart, the fruits of the Spirit will be seen in the life. The Holy Ghost will be sure to honour the faithful preaching of this glorious doctrine. Following in order is the doctrine of

Entire Sanctification.—The polemic fray raised around the subject has not always been characterised by that goodness, meekness, and gentleness, which its recipients should everywhere manifest. A good sister, who was urging the claims of holiness upon a minister, received for reply—"I understand there are two kinds of holiness; one a sweet, kind, loving holiness, the other a censorious, fighting holiness. Which kind is yours?" She said—"I feel nothing but love in my soul, and a peace as sweet as heaven; but these very elements make me hate the devil, and oppose sin with all my might." We have neither time nor disposition for controversy on the subject. We find that, according to the New Testament, it is our privilege to be "cleansed from all sin, free from sin, dead, indeed, unto sin; full of faith, filled with the spirit; sanctified wholly, the partakers of the divine nature, and preserved blameless." There are thousands who have received pardon, and have the witness of the Holy Spirit that they live in its enjoyment, but still possess not that which is implied in these exceeding great and precious promises. But the apostle would take these by the hand, and, directing their eye of faith to the promises, would say —"Having these, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." The law of the kingdom says that it is done to us according to our faith. Now, numbers, when convicted of the guilt of sin, have no idea that such great things are in store for them as those contained in these precious promises. They believe for pardon, and it is done unto them according to their faith; and an unspeakable privilege it is to know that all past sin is forgiven for Christ's sake. Yet this is but the beginning of things, and such are but babes in the family of God. Indeed, the work of sanctification is begun, as it was in the Thessalonians, for whom the apostle prayed that the work might be completed, and they preserved in that blameless condition. There is no reason in the nature of things why persons should not be sanctified wholly at the time they are pardoned. If the mind perceives the great things provided in the economy of grace, and the whole being be presented to God as a living sacrifice,

and the heart fully embraces the promises of God for full salvation, in such a case God will be true to His promise, destroy all sin, and fill the soul with Himself. But experience says that this is very seldom, if ever, the case. The testimony of Fletcher, Bramwell, Carvosso, Mrs. Fletcher, Hester Ann Rogers, and a host of unimpeachable witnesses, who have been the life and power of revivals, have always spoken of this great grace as a second blessing, and the time and place of its reception has been as distinct as that of pardon. Dr. Adam Clarke says—"I believe pardon and entire sanctification to be widely distinct works. I have been acquainted with thousands of Christians in different states of grace, and I never to my knowledge met with a single instance in which God both justified and sanctified at the same time." Mr. Wesley said, "This doctrine is the grand deposition which God hath lodged with the people called Methodists; and for the sake of propagating this chiefly, God appears to have raised us up. Where it is not strongly and explicitly preached, there is seldom any remarkable blessing of God, and consequently little addition to the society, and little life in the members of it. Speak and spare not. Let not regard to any man induce you to betray the truth of God. Till you press believers to expect salvation *now*, you must not look for any revival. That point—entire salvation from inbred sin—can hardly ever be insisted upon either in preaching or prayer without a particular blessing." How he himself practised it may be best gathered from the following extract from one of his sermons:—

"But how does God work this great work in the soul, gradually or instantaneously? Perhaps it may be gradually wrought in some. I mean in this sense, that they do not advert to the particular moment when sin ceases to be, but it is infinitely desirable, were it the will of God, that it should be done instantaneously; that the Lord should destroy sin with the breath of his mouth, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. And so he generally does; a plain fact of which there is evidence enough to satisfy any unprejudiced person. *Thou*, therefore, look for it every moment. Look for it in the way described, in all those good works whereunto thou art created anew in Christ Jesus. There is no danger; you can be no worse, if you are no better for the expectation. But you shall not be disappointed in your hope; it will come and will not tarry. Look for it, then, every day, every hour, every moment! Why not this hour, this moment? Certainly you may look for it *now*, if you believe it is by faith. And by this token you may know whether you seek it by faith or by works. If by works you want something to be done *first, before* you are sanctified. You think you must first *be* or *do* thus or thus. Then you are seeking it by works unto this day. If you seek it by faith you *may* expect it *as*

you are; and if as you are, then expect it *now.* It is of importance to observe that there is an inseparable connection between these three points—expect it *by faith*—expect it *as you are*—expect it *now.* To deny one of them is to deny them all. Do *you* believe you are sanctified by faith? Be true, then, to your principle, and look for this blessing, just as you are, neither better nor worse, as a poor sinner who has nothing to pay, nothing to plead, but Christ died. And if you look for it as you are, then expect it *now.* Stay for nothing; why should you? Christ is ready, and He is all you want. He is waiting for you, He is at the door! Let your inmost soul cry out—

> "Come in, come in, thou heavenly guest,
> Nor hence again remove;
> But sup with me, and let the feast
> Be everlasting love."

Thus Wesley preached, and enjoined that his preachers preached it "constantly, strongly and explicitly." Of Bramwell, his son in the gospel, it is said, To the maturer disciples he preaches perseverance and constant progress. In reference to these, his favourite doctrine is entire sanctification. He seems to say to these, "You may be converted; you may be members; you may meet in your classes; you may stand forth as accepted Christians; but there is something beyond all this: have you the blessing of entire sanctification? if not, you are still novices in religion, and your experience, comprehensive as you may think it, wholly omits the chief and crowning grace of all." Now, who does not see that the preaching of this doctrine, in the spirit of the blessing proffered, must result in the revival of religion. Another truth we must never fail to urge upon our hearers is—

Constant progress in the divine life. Entire sanctification kills sin, fills the soul with God, and prepares it for eternal glory. For all time and eternity the exhortation will ever be appropriate—"Grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." When all roots of bitterness are eradicated, and the seeds of righteousness planted in the heart by Christ, then the fruits of the Spirit, under the influence of the Sun of Righteousness, may ripen and mellow for ever. This is the true doctrine of perseverance, and believers must be urged to hold on their way with the definite hope that they will daily grow "stronger and stronger." Jesus himself "increased in wisdom, and in favour with God and man." And his forerunner, being "filled with the Holy Ghost, waxed strong in spirit." And we are persuaded that the inculcation of these truths, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, will bring many of our hearers from spiritual babyhood to manhood's prime and strength, and make their piety a thing of power.

The blessed realisation of these things in our own hearts will enable us to speak with confidence, and an influence that can flow from no other source. Important points, illustrated by the preacher's own experience, have often moved the people as nothing else could. Paul generally did this, and God made known the savour of his knowledge through his ministry in every place. Gideon Ouseley, who was a fine illustration of pulpit power, in relating his experience said, "I was awakened—found myself a great sinner, but I obtained pardon. I had not been converted long before God in power came upon me and said, 'Gideon, you must preach the gospel.' I said, 'I cannot, Lord.' The Lord said, 'You know what a man is before he is converted.' 'Oh yes, I know that.' 'Do you know how a man gets converted?' 'Oh yes, I know that.' Do you know what a man is when he is converted?' 'Yes, I know that.' And the Lord said, 'Go and tell the people that!" Hugh Bourne gave it as his opinion that the reason why some preachers were more successful in the commencement of their career than at any subsequent period was, that then they spoke only of things they understood and could illustrate by their own experience. If the grand distinguishing doctrines of Methodism permeated our being, we are persuaded that we should so speak that multitudes would believe and be converted.

We will now call attention to certain *necessary endowments for the work of the ministry.* Jehovah excluded the hump-backed and deformed from the service of the Temple, and some regard to physical qualities is necessary for the Methodist ministry. It has shattered many robust constitutions, and weaklings must not be allowed to enter. A man lacking sufficient mental calibre for any ordinary occupation in the world of commerce must not encumber this, the highest office of the church. But these things will be prevented if attention be paid to the

Divine call. This is held to be absolutely necessary, as to run without being sent would be a folly and a sin. A young man asked an old divine if he would advise him to enter the ministry. He got for reply, "Not if you can keep out of it." Some have known what Paul meant when he said, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel," and they have had a just dread of the work till *thrust* into the field to reap the whitening harvest. "What are you doing now?" said a London minister to a young man. "Oh, did you not know that I was in the ministry?" His friend said, "Do you know that the ministry is in you?" "Better," said Dr. Clarke, "be a galley slave than be in the ministry without a sense of the divine call to the work." Methodism finds work for all its children; and from a more limited sphere candidates are introduced into the regular ministry. The call of God to the soul of the candidate is a mat-

ter known only to himself directly, as is the Holy Spirit's witness to his adoption into the divine family; yet others, called of God and owned in the work, are warranted in expressing an opinion as to whether the voice be of God, and whether it be rightly interpreted. The old rule that there must be "gifts, grace and fruit," must never be departed from. One mighty in the work says, "God still calls to the work of the ministry men of various talents and endowments, suited to the various conditions of men and churches; and urges upon those whom he calls the duty of hastening upon their work. And this requirement is impressed upon the consciousness of the persons called, whether from the ordinary occupations of life or from the feet of Gamaliel—the colleges of learning. They are to lay their impressions before their brethren, and the church is to decide whether the call be divine or otherwise; and the judgment is to be formed on the rule laid down by our Lord himself, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Have they grace or piety? have they a clear comprehension of the way of salvation, according to Scripture, and from personal experience? have they in some measure a ready utterance, so as to communicate what they know to others? and above all, have they fruit? has God owned their labours as they have exercised their gifts of exhortation? If all these signs combine in one, we judge he is called to preach the gospel, though he have but little human learning. Both Scripture and experience teach that God alone can select and call and qualify ministers of his Word to promulgate with effect the divine message of mercy and salvation to the world. He that entereth not through this door, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber. No matter how brilliant his parts, how extensive his learning, how great his acquirements in metaphysical and physical science and literature, or how eloquent he may be, without the calling of God he is an intruder into the sacred office, and will hinder rather than promote the spread of the gospel and Scriptural holiness in the earth." For his own happiness, as well as for the church's interest, the candidate should strive to be clear in this matter. Once settled that his place is in the ministry, should difficulties and temptations assail, let him abide in his calling, and expect the help of heaven; and if he lose not the power, let him never for one moment calculate the comparative gain and ease between his present position and the tea trade, a lectureship, an assurance agency, or any other thing below the sun. Our people do not believe that "anything will do for a parson," and demand that there shall be certain

General acquirements before a minister receives his full status amongst us. The divine call must be cultivated. God gives no gifts, general or special, physical, intellectual, or spiritual, which

may not be increased and strengthened by constant cultivation, or weakened and lost by carelessness and neglect; hence all natural endowments being consecrated to God must be diligently and conscienciously improved to His honour and glory. We must laboriously strive to acquire all knowledge which may be rendered subservient to the more effective discharge of our high and holy calling; and by attention to reading and study, show ourselves "workmen that need not to be ashamed; rightly dividing the word of truth." We do not believe in the indefeasibility of holy orders. We hold that as Judas, by transgressing, fell from his bishopric, so a man divinely called to the ministry, may forfeit his call by unfaithfulness and sloth. Surely, if we rightly estimate the love of Christ to us—have any appreciative concern for the honour of His cause, and any just idea of the value of deathless spirits, we shall charge all our powers to be ceaselessly active in the acquisition of that wisdom which is necessary to win souls. It is supposed that we have a thorough knowledge of Methodist theology in all its reasons and bearings. We should be as familiar with the laws of our mother tongue as we are with the figures of the multiplication table; and if we have the same knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, we shall be all the better fitted to speak with the enemy in the gate. We are bound to know something of Rhetoric, Logic, Geometry, Astronomy, Geography, History, Chronology, Biography, Natural and Moral Philosophy, and of the laws of our own and other lands, or we may be despised by those we seek to win. Being separated by the Holy Ghost for the work of the Ministry, we may fearlessly "intermeddle with all knowledge," without danger of being spoiled for our work. This education has cut out useless puppets after scholastic and Procrastean models; but real education will develop a man's natural and spiritual gifts and graces, and make him a workman whom God delights to honour. Methodism has found a sphere for men of meagre abilities and low mental attainments, who, with their one talent purified and consecrated, have done wonders for God; but surely these would not have done less if by diligent culture their one talent had become two or ten. If there be any yet in Methodism who still plead for the Baal of Ignorance, they may be reminded that Methodism sounded its first trumpet, and commenced its march over the world, from within the gates of a university. Wesley, its founder, was the fellow of a College: his brother Charles, its sweet singer, was a collegian of the same university; Cope, the founder of its missions, bore the highest title of the learned world; Benson was a university student; Fletcher was the President of a Theological College; and Clarke the Commentator, was a student of universal knowledge. It would be a sad day for Methodism, if

men of the John Oxtoby stamp had the seal placed upon their lips; but the intellectual culture of the former class did not unfit them for their work, and we are persuaded that had the whole mass of the Methodist Ministry added to their natural powers the acquired talents and piety of such men, the whole church would now be ablaze with revival glory, and the world filled with their doctrine. We have no idea that the greater part of a minister's time should be spent in his study, poring over the musty tomes of the Fathers, whether on Divinity or any other subject. He will want more light than he can find there; and in the garret and the cellar, the field and the factory, the mart and the mansion, he must study humanity in its various developments, and be prepared to speak to men, not as others saw them in centuries past, but as they actually are in the living present. Diligent attention must be paid to—

Pulpit Preparation.—No minister can expect to be generally useful without this. A man like Dr. Clarke may occasionally take his texts for the day from the chapter read at family prayer on Sabbath morning; but such were his general and acquired abilities that scarcely one man in a thousand would be justified in attempting to follow his example. The expectations of the people are such, that if treated to twaddle on the momentous themes which should ring from the pulpit, they may despise the ministry, if they do not become infidel in heart and life. A recent writer, in giving his idea of a good sermon, says:—"It strikes the imagination, instructs the understanding, informs the judgment, persuades the will, convinces the conscience, moves the reason, fixes truths and facts in the memory, animates and rouses the passions, and guides them to proper uses in repentance and devotion; arms the whole soul against sin, strengthens faith and provokes to love and good works, and by intelligent exposition of God's word it enriches the soul with scriptural knowledge, and comforts and animates the heart against the devil, the world, and death." To preach sermons of this character we shall need special preparation, and preparation, we think, superior to that suggested by Sturtevant, or any other book on Homileties it has been our fortune to peruse. These are all too stiff and formal, cramping nature rather than allowing it freedom and force; and who would not prefer to see a man walk barefoot to see him shuffle and limp in the shoes of a Chinese lady? It has become customary to take some short portion of God's word as a foundation for our addresses; and on the whole, perhaps, it is better to continue the practice. It might be profitable at times to take a longer portion, or a whole chapter, and endeavour to make the ingots of truth from each verse; but we should never take as a text a mere phrase out of its

natural connection, and, unless for very special reasons, never use one that has the appearance of oddity. If we make choice of texts which are powerfully applied to our minds in prayer, or in devout study of the scriptures, we shall not go wrong in this matter. If, then, by a careful study of the contexts, the parallel passages, the meaning of the words contained, and the general design of the whole, we cannot understand its primary meaning, and its present application to the hearts and lives of man, and form a plan of discourse calculated under God to move them, we had better turn away from the altar, for surely that is not our place. No doubt the pen should be used freely in preparation, but if the whole be written, a man will make himself an unhappy slave, who becomes a mere memoriter, and from station to station retails the same ideas in the same words and phrases. While we should, as far as practicable, make thorough preparation, we should never allow ourselves to be so tied down to any subject or arrangement as not to be ready to follow the leading of the Spirit, or seize any incident or theme at the moment which may promise greater success than our prepared discourse. Perhaps the following quotation from Dr. Stevens will convey our convictions on this subject more clearly than any words of our own. Having premised that we know what we want to do, and having prepared a bare outline calculated to do it, he says:—"The filling up, though general, should be so complete that the speaker can see through the entire perspective of the discourse; we do not mean that the whole discourse should be written, but that the different propositions should be connected by leading and well related thoughts. This is requisite for two reasons: first, that he may have something to say; and secondly, that he may have the confidence which will enable him to say it with self-possession and force. Self-possession, based upon a sufficient preparation is the whole secret of success in extemporaneous preaching. A preacher thus sustained can hardly fail to have spontaneously the right language and due emotion; and he has comparatively more facilities for them than the manuscript preacher. We say *right* language, and that is right which is appropriate to the occasion. It may not be so precise as the pen would afford, but ought it always to be so? He who rises in the pulpit, with his mind fraught with the ideas of his subject, and his heart inspired with its spirit, will, in most cases, spontaneously utter himself aright. Not only would we have a consecutive train of thought sketched down between the propositions, but it is desired that some specially good thoughts, some apt or striking illustrations, adapted to throw a strong light on the subject and to arrest the attention of the audience, should be noted—some fact, simile, or apt quotation as shall at once engage the attention and

fect the heart. We do not recommend that such passages should
› prepared in their verbal dress; in this respect they should be
:temporaneous, but let them be *notes*. The abbreviations given
r Gregory of the concluding passages of Robert Hall's celebrated
rmon on 'Sentiments suitable to the Times,' are fine examples.
'illiam Pitt pronounced the last five pages of that discourse more
›quent than anything else on record. The language was extem-
›raneous, yet those overwhelming apostrophes were well studied."
›is mode of preparation is not recommended with the idea of
vouring sloth, for as the same writer intimates, the most thorough
›dy is requisite for success to an extemporaneous speaker. And
›at of all this till baptized with the Holy Ghost! Happy he who
n enter into the spirit of Longden, who said:—"I study and
epare for the pulpit as if there were no Holy Ghost to help me
ere, and when I enter upon any public work I cast my preparation
the feet of Jesus Christ, depending upon divine influence as
uch as if I had not premeditated."

Having, then, something to say, and an irrepressible desire to
y it, a word may be suffered on the manner of its delivery.
nough has been said to show that we believe there is a more ex-
›llent way than reading, whether it be from manuscript or me-
ory. The former we are not prepared to tolerate at all. With
gard to the latter, an authority observes, "It ought to be manifest
at while the preacher has done what within him lies, to be
oroughly furnished, he is trusting for utterance to help from above,
›d not *intoning* it by natural means—either by manuscript or me-
ory. We put these two together because we do not see that any
stinction really exists between them. The plea that the manu-
ript is more honest than memoritor preaching has some force, but
rtainly not much; for he that reads from memory is, to the feel-
gs and instinct of his hearers, as much reading as he who reads
›m a manuscript. We never thought of saying that God could
›t bless such ministrations: all we say is that it is not Scriptural
eaching. It is not ministering after the mode of Pentecostal
›ristianity. It has its clear advantages and its clear losses. It
cures a gain of elegance at the cost of ease, of finish at the cost
freedom, of precision at that of power, and of literary pleasure at
at of religious impressiveness." "And," says another, "let the
eacher, with God's commission upon him, with the Holy Ghost
thin him, and with all the assistance of books and nature about him,
th the solemnities of eternity before him, let him throw himself
ith all directness and energy into his work, speaking to the people in
eir own strong and simple speech, seeking not to ape the rhetori-
›n, but to save souls, pulling them out of the fire. He will then speak
›m his heart, and with infinitely more eloquence than he could

utter from his manuscript. We cannot conceive of Christ *reading* his discourses to the multitudes of Judea; or Peter on the day of pentecost, or Paul on Mars Hill, reading from a scroll. We know this could not have been; not from any historic testimony, but from the manifest absurdity of the supposition: just as we know that the Fathers of Methodism never could have awakened the slumbering churches, and aroused the masses of the people to religious concern with such elegant but powerless essays as some of their professed followers now deliver. No doubt we may learn something from the art of the elocutionist, but it should be rather to correct defects and unlearn bad habits than by any set of rules to make all men mouth and gesticulate by measure. What we have to say, then, is—

Be Natural.—We know that some teachers on Homiletics would drill us in modes of address, and tell us how to give "the tender," "the indignant," "the consoling," and even "the abrupt." But the babe needs no rules of art by which to smile, no more than does the lamb to play. We plead for naturalness in opposition to affectation, in opposition to monotonous sameness, and to a stiff formality. If a man has an interesting story to tell, has it clear in his own mind, has his own heart's emotions stirred with it, and will let those emotions guide his tongue, he will be sure to impart them to his auditors. Another man, every way different in all the various idiosyncrasies of life, if he be a man of equal force, and have a story of equal interest, and will conform to the same rule, may be equally interesting and effective. But should they depart from this natural rule, and try to imitate each other, or anybody else, each would make a fool of himself, and excite only sorrow or contempt. So if a preacher attempt to imitate Mr. Punshon, Mr. Spurgeon, or any other distinguished orator, he descends from the dignity of an original attractive man, such as God made him, to the grade of an *ape*. The human voice possesses wonderful compass and variety of tone, adapted to all the variety of the heart's emotions. Every variety of thought and feeling, from the ripple of the rill to the thunder of the cataract, has its appropriate tone, varying from the soft whisper of secret confidence up to the scream of sudden horror, the shriek of wild despair, the trumpet of command, and the thunder of defiance. If the preacher possesses these emotions in his heart, let him give them out in their appropriate tones; but if he does not possess them, he need not try to simulate them. The ease and clearness with which one can be heard depend as much upon distinctness and emphasis of pronunciation, as upon volume of voice. Each syllable should be pronounced distinctly, not in a slow, measured, stiff style, but with the ease and naturalness of familiar conversation. Emphasis especially should be clear

and distinct; but be it remembered that all words are not emphatic, there may easily be too much of this good thing, and a picture, all light or all shade, is no picture at all. Whitfield was greatly indebted to his magnificent voice, and the way in which he used its rich natural tones. It has been said that his "Hark! Hark!" could conjure up Gethsemane with its faltering moon, and again awake the cry of horror-stricken innocence; and an apostrophe to Peter on the Holy Mount would light up another Tabor, and drown it in glory from the opening heavens. This he could do in "marked language;" but the art is not a marketable commodity; it must be inborn in a passionate earnestness to move men, and in a natural method for its accomplishment. The following brief but significant letter from Garrick to a theological student, who had requested his advice on the subject, is a whole volume on oratory compressed into a paragraph:—

My dear Sir,—You know how you feel and speak in the parlour to a dear friend who is in imminent danger of his life, and with what energetic pathos of diction and countenance you would enforce the observance of that which you really thought would be for his preservation. You would be yourself; and the interesting nature of the subject possessing your heart, would furnish you with the most natural tone of voice, the most proper language, the most engaging features, and the most suitable and graceful gestures. What you would be in the parlour, be in the pulpit, and you will not fail to please, to affect, to profit. Adieu.—D. G.

Appropriate Illustrations always render discourses attractive and effective, and are used by the children of nature the world over. The Master never spake without a parable; hens and chickens, sheep and shepherds, seed and sowers were used by him in illustration of the truths he taught; by things men did know they were taught things they did not know, and it was as much his manner as his matter that led the common people to hear him gladly. Children are being plentifully supplied now-a-day with illustrated publications, and we must supply the parents with illustrated preaching, for there are many women left, like the old one now gone, who said, "I like best the likes of Scripture." Perhaps no man since the days of his Master was listened to with more delight than that charming story-teller Dr. Guthrie. In reference to the subject in hand, he says:—"No addresses recorded in history, sacred or profane, have so much of the parable character as our Lord's. Not dry tones, nor thoughts skilfully put together; mere naked skeletons, they were clothed with flesh, and instinct with life. Man has a three-fold character; he is a being possessed of reason, of affection, and of imagination; he has a head, a heart, and a fancy. And now proving, and now painting, and now persuading, our Lord's dis-

courses, unlike dry heavy sermons, along with the strongest arguments, the most pointed and powerful appeals, are full of stories, illustrations, and comparisons; and by this circumstance, as well as by the Divinity of his matter, and the blended mildness and majesty of his manner, we explain the fact that Jesus was naturally the prince of preachers. The suitableness of this style of preaching a Gospel, intended as well for the unlearned as the learned, for converting the unlettered poor, whose souls are as precious in God's sight as those of philosophers and kings, is obvious. Occasionally used to conceal for a time the full meaning of the speaker, the chief and common object of the parable is by the story to win attention and maintain it, to give plainness and point, and therefore power, to truth. By awakening and gratifying the imagination, the truth finds its way more readily to the heart, and makes a deeper impression on the memory. The story, like a float, keeps it from sinking; like a nail, fastens it on the mind; like the feathers of an arrow, makes it strike, and, like the barb, makes it stick."

Accounting for the success of the early Methodist preachers in America, a certain writer lays considerable stress on the mode of illustrating the truths they delivered. He says—"Their similitudes, like Christ's, were drawn from familiar life, allusions to passing events, the thrilling anecdote. These were the staple of their expositions. We do not deny that in individual cases they were excessive, and became too characteristic, so as to change the preachers somewhat into the anecdote-monger; but such men were exceptions to the general ministry. While the great mass of the Itinerancy avoided this abuse they traversed the land, wielding, in their homely, earnest speech and popular illustrations, a power over the common mind, compared with which the customary and more refined prelections of the pulpit of the day were only as the music of the piper compared with the wind abroad in its strength, 'the mighty rushing wind.' They were in the habit of giving experimental illustrations from their own personal history. Studying the truths in their Bibles, these laborious men found its appropriate comments written by the Holy Spirit, as in lines of fire, upon their own souls; and when these comments were read aloud, with tears and sobbing adoration, the effect was resistless. How often, when the rest of the discourse apparently has failed of impression, have we seen the multitudes melt with emotion when these experimental attestations have been adduced! Such references to their own history could not fail to kindle their religious feelings, and to spread a sympathetic emotion through their assemblies." But whatever may be our style of speech, or whatever may be our method of illustration, we must take care that there be associated with the whole a—

Definitiveness of aim.—We must resolutely, in the name and strength of God, determine to carry our point. Unless we had read the petitions of the Postmaster-general, we could not have believed that there were so many letters posted annually without any address whatever; we have long and painfully felt that thousands of sermons are preached annually that were addressed to nobody, owned by nobody, and of course nobody under them was affected for good. Of a certain D.D.'s sermons it was said that "they never could convert a sinner, because they were never meant to do it." Let us rather take the advice of one who was eminently a soul-winner, and who said, "Always aim at effect. Let all you say lead you nearer to that proposed mark. If you have no mark, keep out of the pulpit." We must study the necessities of the people—find out their errors and sins and false refuges, and what are the truths they most need. We should not study their tastes and inclinations so much as their spiritual condition. Our preaching won't be aimless then; we shall have some special object in view in every sermon, and that object will be manifest to all. We shall not be content with getting orderly through the devotional exercises, and with delivering from memory a nicely arranged systematic sermon; we shall aim to save souls, and if none of these are brought to penitence, if no believer is brought to hunger more intensely for righteousness, we shall feel as though we had for once failed of our mark. A minister who witnessed some of the revival scenes in the North of Ireland in 1859 was so convinced of the error of his past course, that he said, "When I go home, the first thing I mean to do is to burn my six-and-twenty years sermons; they are beside the mark; I feel as if I had never known what it is to speak to perishing souls." He had not evidently preached like Thomas Collins, to whom an intelligent man among his occasional hearers, once said, "All your discourses seem to be about me; none others that I ever hear get inside me as yours do." Why cannot we make Felix tremble; Herod acknowledge that God is with us; and David feel that he is the man? Let us at any rate prepare appropriately for this, and if we do not effect it, let it not be for want of aim. An author, before quoted, says on this subject, "This energetic *directness of aim* furnishes a rule of success almost infallible, and yet *practicable to all men.* No ambassador of Christ should be content to be an ordinary man. He professes to believe himself to be armed with preternatural authority, and supplied with preternatural endowments. These, if nothing else, should give him an extraordinary character, based upon the same extraordinary, pure and sublime consciousness of his official position. Let such an one, with entire consecration to this purpose, and resoluteness of aim to effect it, pursue this, and he shall see its accomplishment. How often have

we known preachers who, with very ordinary abilities, were, nevertheless, always received well, and have sometimes been in general demand! And why? The only answer is they were earnest, hard-working men, good visitors among the people, assiduous in the Sunday-school interest, energetic in social meetings, and sympathetic with the sick and poor: men, in a word, who are intent on their one work—the rescue of souls." An American Methodist preacher says, "There are preachers, and pious ones too, that never once in their own lives distinctly concentrated their purpose to the work of *converting* men. Their efforts are to furnish an eloquent sermon, to develop theological or biblical truth, to thrill an audience, to pour forth general religious emotion, to spread a popular fame, to gather crowds, or to build a large church. Verily, they have often their reward, namely, success in their objects. But here is another, who does not object to all these; but with or without them, by study, by closet, by pulpit, by pastoral work, some or all, *he* MEANS *to convert souls*, and just so many as he can. Where this is attained, all this is well enough: where this is not attained, all the other success does not comfort him a penny."

Earnestness is a requisite, and by earnestness we mean more than bustle or noise—more than fussiness and loud talk. A celebrated preacher, distinguished for the eloquence of his pulpit declarations, exclaimed on his death bed, "Speak not to me of my sermons; alas! I was fiddling while Rome was burning." Earnestness, as we need it, is the Spirit of Christ so permeating the whole man, that every word, act, and expression, are as the blast of a divine trumpet, rousing sinners to a sense of their danger. This is as an irrepressible fire or flood, that must have vent somewhere. It is not merely a professional service, but a life, and as regular as the functions of man's physical being. It will manifest itself "in season, out of season," in shops as in sanctuaries, on hearths as well as in pulpits. Men can stand before the most thunderous words, and violent attitudinizings, but before such a ministry as this many will become as snow before the sun.

Brainerd had such a burning earnestness to save souls from death, that he said, "I cared not where, or how I lived, or what hardships I went through, so that I could but gain souls to Christ. While I was asleep I dreamed of these things, and when I was awake the first thing I thought of was this great work. All my desire was for the conversion of the heathen, and all my hope was in God." Henry Martin was another such flame of fire, and moved in the same sphere. His earnestness beamed from his countenance, and spread itself among men. His very portrait seemed inspiring. Charles Simeon had it hanging against the wall in his study, and he said it seemed to say to his very soul, "*Be in earnest! dont trifle! dont trifle!*" and Mr. Simeon would reply, "Yes, I *will* be in earnest, I

wont trifle; for souls are perishing, and Christ is to be glorified." But it is not the sight of any good man's portrait, or attention to any good rules of Rhetoric that can produce ministerial earnestness; this comes of a right view of the cross, of a realization of things unseen, and of our associated responsibilities. Richard Cecil manifested it, as he prayed men with tears to be reconciled to God; and the moving, generating cause was revealed when he said, "I see hell open before me, and thousands of souls shut up there in everlasting agonies. Jesus Christ stands forth to save men from rushing into that bottomless abyss. He sends me to proclaim His ability and love. I want no fourth idea! Every fourth idea is contemptible! Every fourth idea is impertinence!" Physical suffering moves us to the assistance of its victim, and in fire and flood men endanger their lives to save their fellows; and if we believe that sin has endangered souls, as we say it has, surely we shall be in earnest to pluck them from the fire."

Faith is necessary.—Without faith it is impossible to please God, and without faith it is impossible to succeed as a preacher of the gospel. We know a temperance missionary, employed by some Quakers, who went forth and succeeded wondrously. He told these Friends before he started that he should succeed. One said, "Why, friend, thou hast great faith in this matter!" "Yes," said he, "I have faith in God, and faith in myself, and I'm sure to succeed;" and he did. A preacher needs faith similar in character—faith in his mission. A man whose credentials are clear—who knows that he is called of God to the work—and who fully believes that his life's work is to bring men to God, will go about that work in such a spirit as will bow men to its force. Such an one has faith in his message. He believes that it contains all that it professes to contain—that it can do all that it promises to do—that the penitent may be pardoned, the believer purified; for Almighty God is to do it, and those who believe are the subjects on which His mighty power operates to salvation. He believes in the presence of his Master. Once, in conversation with a friend, we said, "I wonder what Jesus thought of the preaching of the Jewish Doctors under which He regularly sat? What pain it must have given Him to hear their twaddle!" The thought affected us as it never did before, when he said, "I wonder what He thinks of the twaddle He hears now!" It will be well for us to realize that, however small the gathering, God makes one of the audience—that He is as certainly with us in the pulpit as though we saw Him with our eyes—present with us in His spiritual nature, in His essential Divinity, in all the fulness of His saving power; and, with all the affection of His infinitely sympathetic heart, is passionately concerned for the success of His message. Believing this, and that souls may be present on the way to ruin, and may be there to hear the message

of mercy for the last time, it will be wonderful if we do not in some humble way enter into the spirit of praying men to be reconciled to Him. Bramwell was one of those men who preached in faith; and how it thrilled him, and thrilled others, his biographer illustrates when he says of him, "In accents of genuine pathos he entreats the wanderers to return to their home. In the name of the Spirit and of the Bride he says—come! Would they but look to that cross, and look *now*, salvation would be theirs! Without a moment's delay, he urges them to seek and secure that priceless jewel. Indeed, this doctrine of immediate salvation was his greatest doctrine. He preached in the present tense. It might have been the motto of every sermon—'To-day—to night—this very hour—may be the day, the night, the hour of redemption!' The magical word NOW was ever on his lips or in his thoughts. His face was resolutely set against the dilatory policy of a Felix; the present season, however inconvenient, was *the* season always enforced. The prominence which he gave to this doctrine, and his unwearied efforts to bring the unconverted to an immediate decision, contributed in no small degree to his wonderful success. Here he struck at the tempting fallacy of procrastination, by which millions have been ruined. When this was once demolished, need it be said that many a sinner, alarmed by the threats of the law, allured by the promises of the gospel, and assured of an immediate salvation, yielded to his persuasive entreaties, and there and then exchanged the slavery of Satan for the service of Jehovah."

Prayerfulness is indispensable.—There are many things absolutely necessary to salvation which God desires to give, but of which He says, "For these things I will be enquired of by the house of Israel to do it for them." The preaching which is mightily effective is "with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven;" and this is given in answer to earnest prayer—to that prayer which asks on till it receives, and asks on till prayerfulness becomes the habit of the soul. Dr. Clarke says, "All this scriptural and rational preaching will be of no avail, unless another means of God's own choosing be superadded to give it effect:—the influence of the Holy Spirit—that Spirit of life and fire that penetrates in a moment the inmost recesses of the soul, dragging forth to the view of conscience the innumerable sins that were hidden under the successive layers of deep and thick darkness. The men trained by Christ, who had seen Him after His resurrection, and seen Him ascend whence He came, were forbidden to carry the message of mercy to a dying world till it had been made their own by the power of the Holy Ghost; and for this—the great promise of this dispensation—they waited in earnest prayer till filled with its power; then preaching in its might, thousands were saved at the first service. Indeed, Christ Himself entered not upon His public ministry till

richly endowed with this same Spirit. It was necessary even for Christ, for the full accomplishment of His life's mission. How much more so for us if we would make full proof of our ministry? and what daring presumption we manifest if we enter upon such a work without tarrying before God until we be endued with power from on high. A minister of the gospel, mighty in these things says: "Shew me a minister who is panting for the necessary qualifications for turning many sinners to righteousness, and I would say to him, Fast and pray, and weep before the Lord, till that Spirit whose office it is to bestow gifts upon men, especially to those who are coveting earnestly the best gifts, shall descend upon your soul in a baptism of fire, filling the heart with that perfect love which casteth out all fear. A yearning pity for lost sinners will then take possession of his heart, and God will open him a door which no man can shut. Regardless of what men may say or do, and only intent upon one thing—the conversion of sinners, he will very soon see a revival that will strike terror to the hearts of devils and men, and send a tide of joy through the innumerable hosts of heaven." And are there not facts in association with the names of Bramwell, Smith, Stoner, Clowes, Oxtoby, and others, which illustrate the truth of such an assertion? And if we wait before God in the spirit of that brother who said, "O Lord God of hosts! out of my study and into that pulpit I will not go, unless thou go with me," shall we not accomplish something in His most Holy Name? There must be

Expectation of present effects. Paul taught the people so to conduct themselves and their religious services, that, when one unbeliever came in amongst them, he would be so brought under Divine influence that there and then falling down before God, he would acknowledge His presence, confess his sins, and at once become a worshipper of Jehovah. And why are we in the pulpit, wielding the Spirit's sword, unless it is by His aid to insist on the immediate surrender of His foes, and in expectation that they will there and then ground arms to Christ. With this powerful, sharp, quick, piercing weapon, it seems that a skilful swordsman should expect to do execution in every engagement. We should drive it home in the sinner's conscience, and expect the shriek at once to follow. Then, as he comes crying, "Sir, what must I do to be saved?" we shall understand his case, and know how to apply the remedy. A brother, whose station we some time since visited, told us that he had no hope of seeing any revival while he was on it, but that most likely something would be done when he was gone. We asked him how much he thought the devil would care for a thousand men in the exercise of a faith of that description! One of the most useful living men we know says that he goes into the pulpit believing that God will save souls in that service; and it is done very largely

according to his faith. There will be a great conflict at times in this expectant faith which looks for present effects, but we may become established in it by continued baptisms of power from on high. In confirmation of this principle a Methodist historian says: "This aim at direct results is the secret of one-half the success of Methodism; it is the explanation of most of our history. Men actuated and thrilled by such a purpose, how could they be otherwise than eloquent and demonstrative? It would make ordinary talents extraordinary, and convert weakness itself into strength. Now take a corps of robust men, possessed of good strong sense, their vigorous vernacular style of speech, staunch sonorous voices, and sanctified hearts, and inspired with the purpose and expectations of *immediate results* from their labours, and you will have a specimen of the old Methodist ministry. Of the truly great men of the world we suppose it can be proved that more have owed their success to energetic purpose than to great faculties. One thing, at least, seems certain, namely, that good ordinary faculties being given, and a determined purpose added, except where some obstacle beyond all human control intervenes, success is certain." A dying brother once said, "To have one poor sinner own thee in the day of judgment, as an instrument in God's hand of plucking him as a brand from the burning, will be a greater comfort to thy glorified spirit in the day of the Lord, than if thou hadst been the greatest orator that ever engaged the attention of an audience." In such a glorious work, brethren, it is our privilege to be engaged, and with success in it we need not envy Moses his rod; or David his harp; or Elijah his mantle; or Solomon his wisdom; for we have a post equal to the chief, and there is no reason why we should not have a crown brighter than any one of them. Let us lay to heart the injunction of the Apostle:—Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine," and we shall most surely succeed in our efforts, and our Master will see to it, that we shall in no case lose our reward.

GEORGE WARNER.

[The above essay was read at a meeting of the Itinerant and Local Preachers of the London Circuits and Suburban Missions.]

ART. III.—SPIRITUALISM.

IN an article on "Modern Heresies" which appeared in the *Ambassador* five years ago, four pages were devoted to an exposition of the foolish pretensions and monstrous absurdities of spiritualism. With this exception, we do not remember to have seen an allusion to the subject in any of our Connexional periodicals. Such

reticence is, to us, unaccountable, considering the staggering statements made in that article and the grave importance of the subject itself.

Spiritualism is a great fact, and as such, should be looked in the face. To evade it, is simply to arm it with stronger weapons against the truth, to feed its arrogance, and allow it, unresisted, to gather millions more into its already glutted ranks. Its *seances* have become fashionable in many quarters, while some people who make pretensions to wisdom just laugh at this gigantic fraud, and regard it as only an innocent pastime, or a pleasing amusement for an "evening party." Any attempt to denounce it as an insidious enemy to virtue, and foe to truth, is treated by such persons as supremely ridiculous. We venture, however, to inform such people that they can know but little or nothing of the subject, and that whilst they are laughing, millions are becoming its dupes. *The Christian Enquirer* says, "It is the John the Baptist to a new Advent, the Morning Star of a new Reformation." *The Quarterly Review* says, "Spiritualism is a great fact of the age," and *The New York Herald* says, "It will, without doubt, prove the most revolutionary movement ecclesiasticism has had to confront since the Reformation." It is well known, also, that a large number of the American pulpits are largely tainted with it, so that no apology is required for calling attention to it in these pages.

There can be no doubt that Spiritualism owes a great deal to the raving vagaries of Immanuel Swendenborg; indeed, Spiritualists themselves readily acknowledge that their system is an elaboration of the Swedish seer's. But the genuine article, as served up to us in this country, is, beyond question, of American preparation and importation. The first spirit manifestations, in their modern shape, date from 1834. But it was not till 1848 that they attracted any special notice. In the west of New York is situated the small village of Hydesville. Here lived a family of the name of Fox. The members of this family declare that they were frequently alarmed by strange and mysterious noises coming from different parts of the house. Mrs. Fox gives the following account of the strange phenomenon:—"On the evening of the 21st of March my husband had retired to bed, when my daughter, who is fifteen years of age, said, in sport, 'Now just do as I do; count one, two, three, four, striking one hand upon the other.'" These blows were imitated by some invisible agency, and the daughter was startled. The mother then said "Count ten," and upon the daughter doing so, ten mysterious noises were heard in response. The mother asked if it were a spirit, and, if so, to answer by two sounds. Suddenly the two sounds were given. A report soon spread through the neighbourhood that the Fox family were holding intercourse with the spirits

of the dead. The owners of haunted houses began to question the strange sounds they heard, and in many cases "received intelligent answers." The manifestations rapidly increased; intelligent persons and men of science formed circles to examine them; their truthfulness was declared, and "thousands became media between the living and the spirits of the dead." The system was first introduced into England in 1855 by the notorious D. D. Home, and for the last eighteen years has been spreading through the towns and cities of the country with alarming rapidity.

The theology of spiritualism, if theology it can be called, is certainly a strange muddle. This, of course, only makes it more profound. Nothing is deeper than mud; only stir it a little and it will make the gutter by the roadside appear as deep as the Atlantic. We do not allude so much to the newly-coined verbiage in which Spiritualists convey their ideas as to their conflicting sentiments. The following programme, issued by the "National Convention of Spiritualists," held at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1866, will probably account for the muddle:—"Whereas a large and intelligent portion of the people of this country, having mentally and spiritually outgrown the forms, ceremonies, creeds, dogmas, fables, and superstitions of the Christian churches,—Resolved, that we, as a religious organization of Spiritualists and reformers, put forth the following declaration of objects and principles; we discover no practical utility in any of the various ceremonies, rites, and formulas of the various churches, and, therefore, abandon all, and establish none, but leave each individual to follow the dictates of his or her own conscience." This is certainly clear enough as regards the estimate Spiritualists place upon the Christian churches in general. But into what excesses human nature, unbridled by the restraints of reason, will plunge, or what kind of a religion it will manufacture for itself, is not quite so certain. Their literature is our only source of information upon these points, and even here, in the presence of the above declaration, we may expect to find as many creeds among them as there are writers, and their principles varying according to their respective whims, prejudices, and erratic imaginations.

The whole system is built upon the fundamental principle of mortals holding intercourse with disembodied spirits—the spirits of departed friends—as messengers from God making known to earth the secrets of the Spirit-land. We shall have more to say upon this point anon. In the meantime, we turn our attention to those tenets which Spirituals allege their spirit-friends have rapped out to them. These tenets, then, we will style "the Spiritualist Creed." This creed declares that only part of the scripture comes from God—that Spiritualism is the only true type of Bible Christianity, that the Established Church is only a machine set up

by the Tudors and Stuarts to prevent difference of opinion and Dissent a kind of "shoddy fabric, made from the ground-up old clothes of government Anglicism," that "modern theology is an enormous humbug," and the "so-called religion of the age a scandalous libel on the truth of Christ;" that Divine inspiration is perpetual in man; that departed spirits are not located in some far-off region, but linger still among living men; that the doctrine of a future state, the immortality of the soul, and the existence of God, the pre-existence and reincarnation of the human soul, the eternity of matter are each and equally true. Spiritualists ridicule our ideas of the resurrection, and maintain that no such doctrine is taught in the Scriptures. They hold that there is no death, and consequently, the theory of resurrection is absurd. When the old body falls the soul is immediately enclothed with a new one of some kind of refined materialism, visible, but yet spiritual. The "spirits" make known to enquirers the profoundest secrets of the spirit-land—who are in Heaven, who are in hell, and to which of these places you are journeying yourself. We are told that the age of miracles is not past, as the churches allege, but that spirit mediums possess a "reservoir of life," or the power to heal the sick. They declare that by their own strong will they can impart their power of health and life to any invalid they touch, and thus profess to work miracles of healing similar to those wrought by the laying on of hands in the olden times. They, farther, deny the doctrine of everlasting punishment, and declare that all men who die in impenitence will, by the agency of penal fires, recover their purity, and gradually mount from the deeps of hell to the heights of heaven. Hence they hold the popish doctrine of the necessity and utility of "prayers for the dead." A lady Spiritualist in London declares she has six hundred departed spirits upon her list, all craving an interest in her prayers, and among these are many unfortunate clergymen who are suffering the consequences of neglected duties. The "spirits" have put their *imprimatur* upon Swendenborg's "Arcana Cœlestia," especially the account of the "seven spiritual spheres" around each planet. These spheres form a kind of a purgatory, into which pass the souls of the departed that are too bad for heaven and too good for hell. Here they are schooled and purified, and pass from the least to the largest, in proportion as they approximate to the likeness of Deity. Mr. J. Burns, the well-known editor of the *Medium and Daybreak*, and a rabid Spiritualist, in speaking of the Bible, says:—"All the Bible is not holy writing. . . . In this light we attribute no authoritative importance to the statements respecting Jesus recorded in the gospels." Concerning the early days of Christ, he says:—"He was a child of intuitive genius, and at the age of twelve years he was discovered in the temple, puzzling the erudite brains of the leading theologians with his questions

and answers, a feat which children very readily accomplish at the present day." The same writer, when speaking upon the cardinal principles of Christianity, asks: "Where did these come from? They have existed in the world from the earliest dawn of idolatrous priestcraft. The fall and the devil, the immaculate conception by a virgin, the birth, life, and acts of a God-man, the angry God, hell torments, the vicarious sacrifice, and the Trinity are to be found in nearly every form of idolatry or paganism that has ever existed, or is now to be found upon the face of the earth. If space permitted, we might profitably refer to history, and point out the career of all the Pagan myths that are now taught in our churches as popular Christianity." Mr. J. J. Morgan is a popular trance-medium. This gentleman, while under "spirit influence," delivered an address in London twelve months ago, in which we find the following choice morsel: "It is a habit in Christian countries to put murderers to death, but in one respect Christians are not consistent, for they found their religion on and derive its merits from an act of murder; and thus all are accessory to it who avail themselves of the advantages supposed to be derived therefrom. Thus all who base their claims to salvation on the violent death of Jesus are parties to a murder; and we ask, can a religion be founded upon murder?" Another medium declares that the doctrine of the fall is a "sweeping blasphemy"; and Mrs. Hardinge, one of their most popular lady mediums, assures us that the "Ten commandments could not possibly have come from God, because nobody can keep them. Those who have been weak enough to believe in the Divine origin of this stern and "impracticable" code will be startled to see it so summarily upset; but the alarm is groundless, for the "spirits" have not only upset the old code, but have set up a new one! It lies before us, and consists of ten "spiritual commandments," given through the mediumship of Mrs. Hardinge. As far as these new commandments go, there is nothing particularly objectionable in them; there is certainly nothing new, and we hope the lady medium will not find them any more "impracticable" than those she wishes them to supercede.

Duty demands us to refer to another point in this Creed: we would gladly pass it by, on account of its vile and revolting nature, but we dare not. We refer to the "free love" question, as proclaimed by the spirits through the Media. The following is cut from a London paper, *The Advertiser*. Mr. T. L. Harris, an intelligent spiritualist, in his reported lecture says:—"The marriage vow imposes no obligation in the views of spiritualists. Husbands who for years had been so devotedly attached to their wives that they said nothing in the world but death itself could part them, have abandoned their wives, and formed criminal connection with other females." The "Banner of Light," in its report of an

address delivered by Mrs. Julia Brach, at the Rutland Reform Convention, makes that lady say,—"I am aware that I have chosen a forbidden subject,—forbidden from the fact, that any one who can or dare look the marriage question in the face candidly, and openly denouncing the institution, as the sole cause of woman's degradation and misery, are objects of suspicion, of scorn, and opprobrious epithets." We dare not shock the sensibilities of our readers by a statement of the disgusting practices of such spiritualists as act upon the free love principle, and of the immoral and blasphemous arguments by which they defend their conduct.

It is necessary now to enquire how, or in what manner these vicious revelations have been given? This brings us at once to the "spirit-circle." Let us enter it with caution. Certain mental and atmospheric conditions are necessary to establish communication with the spirit-world. We are told that the "spirits" will retaliate upon those who endeavour to play tricks,—that the sitters must be careful to test the spirits as to whether they are "good or evil," and then decide upon their messages accordingly. Every circle must have a medium, to receive the spirit messages, and deliver them to the intended parties. It is maintained that the departed spirit possesses a large amount of magnetic influence, by which it can operate upon the body of the living medium, and other material objects, such as chairs, tables, pianofortes, &c. Sometimes the "spirits" make known their presence by a gentle tap at the door, a shadow on the wall, the warm touch of a hand, a low footstep, bright, and angel-like forms flitting over the heads of the sitters, "spirit-eyes" peering through the darkness, the scattering of flowers, presents of ear-rings, &c. The "spirit" messages are delivered in ever-varying modes. Sometimes the medium is thrown by the "spirit" into a kind of trance, and in this abnormal state offers up prayers and delivers sermons. At other times, the hand of the medium is moved by "spirit" influence, and paper and pencil being provided, it writes out messages at the dictation of the "spirit." In this manner, original pieces of poetry have been written, and touching love-messages received, without the slightest mental effort on the part of the medium. While it is further alleged that the medium cannot even guess at the nature of the communication. William Howitt, Esq.,—a gentleman well-known in English literature—declares that he has a whole volume written by the "spirits" in this manner, he himself being the medium. By the same agency, too, and in the same manner, he and many others have drawn the most beautiful pictures, although they are totally ignorant of the art of drawing, and unable to take a copy of them when in their normal state. But what is more surprising still is the writing of messages, both on paper and on slates, when no mortal hand is near to hold the pencil. Spiritual-

istic literature teems with instances of this character, apparently well authenticated. But we haste to give a few instances of these strange phenomena.

W. Howitt writes,—"I saw a small round table, when touched by a medium, lay itself down, and crawl all round the room, and this was continued for a fortnight, the table refusing to perform any other motion. The spirit was exorcised, and the table was all right again." A professedly earnest Christian minister gives the following, as having occurred in a dark room of his own house. His daughter being the medium—"the medium was in trance—she suddenly took up a pencil, wrote out a message, and signed it with initials, then pushed it across the table to a strange gentleman, who had just entered the room. The message proved to be most appropriate, and the initials were those of his daughter who had died some time before. Immediately after this the medium described her, gave an account of her lingering illness, and the circumstances of a scene that took place between father and daughter a few days before she died." Mr. John F. Morgan, of Manchester, the well-known Temperance Secretary, says,—"I went into a room, where some six persons were sitting round a table, I being a perfect stranger to most present. Presently, the arm of a young lady was influenced, and I was given to understand that the spirit of my dear mother wished to speak to me. I asked several test questions, which were answered to my satisfaction. To my great surprise, another and still better test was given,—a part of a death-bed conversation I had with my mother was written upon a slate,—a conversation that had been told to no human being." Through the mediumship of Mr. Home, tables, chairs, and pianofortes, were not only tilted, but floated in the air like feathers. Instruments of music played without hands, and flowers were strewn in every direction. His own body was not only floated round the room, and borne through the windows to a place some distance off, but exhibited the startling phenomenon of elongation, and compression. It is declared in "Human Nature" that "the height he attained was quite six feet nine inches. As he thus lengthened, his clothes separated fully six inches at the waist. And again, as he became shorter and shorter, his waistcoat descended quite below his hips." Judge Edmonds says,—"I have known a pine table lifted bodily from the floor, turned upside down, and laid upon its top at our feet; then lifted above our heads, and put leaning against the back of the sofa on which we sat. I have known a large dinner bell, taken from the high shelf in a closet, rung over the heads of five persons in the closet, then rung over the heads of twelve persons in the back parlour, and finally borne through the folding doors to the far end of the first parlour. I have frequently known persons pulled about by a force which it

was impossible for them to resist. This is not the hundredth part of what I have witnessed; but this is enough." We quite agree with the judge that this is enough, and so refrain from quoting any more at present.

The entire fabric of Spiritualism rests solely upon such strange and startling phenomena. How then, or by what agency, are they produced? It is manifest that the proper answer to this question will determine the real character of the system, and must determine, therefore, whether it must be received or rejected. We are not insensible to the gravity and difficulty which invest the question. The most eminent scientists have paled in its presence—found in it difficulties their philosophy never dreamt of; whilst many more of them, otherwise remarkable for intelligence and sagacity, have, in their attemps to solve it, only succeeded in proving how easy it is to blunder. The theories started to account for spiritualistic phenomena are varied and numerous. We have only space to refer to a few of them.

The common hypothesis is, that the whole system is a monstrous species of *trickery*. With few exceptions, however, this view is only held by persons who have never taken the pains to investigate the subject. They consider that the phenomena are *too strange* to be *real*. Granted that they are strange, but if they are only the result of trickery it is much stranger that no one has been able to discover the secret of it. The quickest eyes and shrewdest intellects of Europe and America have closely watched and keenly criticised them, and that for twenty years, but still the charge of trickery has not been clearly established. It is utterly incredible that twenty millions of people, many of them in the highest ranks of society, including bishops, clergymen, philosophers, judges, statesmen, and monarchs, could either be imposed upon, or would lend their aid to a gigantic fraud. Besides, it strikes us forcibly that if men were corrupt enough to become parties to an imposition, some, at least, out of the teeming multitudes would have been weak enough, either for love, or money, to throw off the mask and expose it. But even this has not occurred. The suspicion of imposture and trickery must therefore be dismissed.

The hypothesis of hallucination is equally untenable. It is quite true that under certain circumstances man is a creature liable to mistake and deception. He may imagine that he sees visions and hears sounds which really have no existence; but, although this may account for some of the phenomena, it fails to account for all. To illustrate this point take one instance out of hundreds. In February of the present year the eminent mediums, Messrs. Herne and Williams, came to Newcastle-on-Tyne to give seances. Several sceptical gentlemen were present, one of whom wrote a letter to the *Daily*

Chronicle describing what took place at one of the meetings. At the close of his long letter he writes: "We then formed a circle as before, and the most violent proceedings commenced. The cabinet was thrown down, tables and chairs upset and knocked about the room. We were hit with the tables, and the tambourine; the crushing became more and more terrific, until we let go of each other and fled, scrambling across the wreck of chairs and tables. After setting the room in some order, we tried again, with similar results, until we were again driven from the room, leaving it in worse confusion than before; chairs, cushions, musical instruments, china vases, &c., &c., lying scattered in wild confusion; the lid of the musical box was torn off its hinges." Now, these sitters were impressed with the idea that some invisible power was using violence. If they had only been hallucinated then everything would have been found in perfect order when they came to their normal state. But instead of this the box lid was "torn from its hinges!"

The great Faraday, with many others, attributed these phenomena to some "natural laws;" such as magnetism and electricity. No doubt these influences might, by the aid of certain mechanical appliances, produce many of the physical manifestations. But no such machines have been discovered at any "spirit" circle, although they have been eagerly searched for. It is utterly impossible to produce even physical phenomena either by electricity or magnetism, without the aid of an apparatus, and as critics and sceptics have failed to find one, we may simply conclude that no such thing has been employed. But even, if we admit that such a machine has been used, there are still certain of these phenomena exhibiting characteristics which indicate high intelligence. The accordion, for instance, while floating in the air, will play any tune you like to ask for; the pencil, untouched by human fingers, will write you out intelligent answers to any question you wish to propose. Besides these things, portraits are drawn by invisible agencies *and of invisible beings*; the bodies of mediums are transported for miles through the air, and deposited in the midst of "spirit" circles without injury, and huge masses of matter are whirled through closed doors and stone walls, without leaving any trace of their passage. Let it be borne in mind that these things have been witnessed, and vouched for, not by a gang of scheming gipsies, or by ignorant and vulgar people, but by men of intelligence, education, and honour—men whose ability and truthfulness we should never doubt when exercised upon other subjects. What, then, is the conclusion to which we are forced? If these phenomena do really occur, if no one acquainted with the question ever doubts their reality, and if the most accomplished scientists of the age stake their reputation upon the averment, that they are beyond the range of any known

law in nature, then there is only one answer, viz., that they are produced by spirit agency.

We shall be met at the threshold of this inquiry by the old and popular objection to the possibility of departed spirits re-visiting this earth. It is stated that those in heaven have no desire to do so, and that those in hell are so guarded that they cannot come, even if they would. There is one unanswerable reply to this objection, the fact that they have appeared from both places. Not only have all the great poets of every age and land represented this, but the Scriptures—our highest authority—teem with instances of spirit re-visitation. I need only refer to Samuel (1 Samuel xxviii. 12—16); to the re-appearance of "Moses and Elias" (Matthew xvii. 3); and to the many cases, both of men and women, possessed by devils (great demons) in the days of Christ and the apostles. It is pretty clear, too, that Christ himself favoured the same idea on two distinct occasions; first, when he walked on the sea the disciples "Supposed it had been a spirit, and cried out, for they all saw him and were troubled" (Mark vi. 49—50). Second, after his resurrection, he appeared to his disciples at Jerusalem, "But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that that they had seen a spirit. And he said unto them . . . Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." (Luke xxiv. 37—39). From these two cases we learn, first, that the Jews firmly believed that disembodied spirits were in the habit of visiting the earth; second, that these spirits could be seen by mortals; and third, that Christ countenanced this belief by not rebuking them if such were not the case. So far from doing this, however, he reasoned with them, and offered evidence to convince them that he was not a spirit. This, we consider, is presumptive evidence in favour of the position we have laid down.

The next step is to inquire what is the character of the spirits who make these revelations? This brings us at once face to face with the great question at issue. Spiritualists declare that they are the spirits of departed friends, commissioned by Deity to impart information concerning the invisible world, and convey messages of love and consolation to those still in earthly life. This we deny *in toto*. If Spiritualism comes from God, it must of necessity be in harmony with his revealed word. Deity cannot contradict himself. He cannot enjoin to-day what he prohibited yesterday. The great principles of his moral government are as immutable as his own nature; with him there "is no variableness, neither shadow of turning." (James i. 17). Is spiritualism, then, in harmony with the teachings of the Bible? Let us apply St. John's caution (1 John iv. 1), "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God."

We charge spiritualism with being a direct violation of the Word of God. Look at its doctrines. A single glance at the creed of spiritualists is quite sufficient to establish this charge. Nothing can be fouler, more blasphemous, or more destructive to the soul's highest interest, than the principles of that creed; and we hold that it is impossible for the "spirits of just men made perfect" to attempt in this manner to upset the teachings of the Divine word. Spiritualists have a very convenient method of overcoming this difficulty. They coolly set the Biblea side when the spirit revelations come into collision with its teachings. "The spirits have revealed them," we are told, and a higher authority is assigned to these spirit-revelations than to the Word of God. We need not quote any more spirit teachings, sufficient has already been given. Neither need we contrast those we have quoted with the teachings of Scripture, as they speak for themselves.

We charge Spiritualism again with violating Scripture by unlawfully seeking information from the dead. God has placed barriers round the secrets of the spirit-world, and it is at our peril that we break through them. But spiritualists recklessly tear them down, and seek for forbidden knowledge from the dead. What is more surprising, is the fact that they claim scriptural authority for this practice. We have not room to examine all the passages on which they build this theory, but just refer to one or two of their strongest. The first is that in connection with the transfiguration of Christ: "And behold there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him," (Matt xvii., 3). One asks, in amazement, what this has to do with the question? It proves that Christ was a Spiritualist, we are told. We utterly deny that either this passage or any other teaches that he called up the spirits of the dead to give him information respecting the spirit-world. 1st. The narrative does not contain one word of information from the spirit-world. Beyond all doubt it would have done so had any been given. 2nd. Christ was Lord of the spirit-world, and knew more about it than all the spirits put together; hence he needed none of their information. It is evident that this passage affords no support to Spiritualism. The second is like unto it; "Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?" Again we ask, what has this to do with the question? The spirits here spoken of are angels, and not the spirits of departed friends. But Spiritualists reply, "These spirits are sometimes called angels," and quote as proof—"See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets," (Rev. xxii, 9). This is wresting Scripture with a vengeance. This angel does not say that he had been one of the prophets, as Spiritualists allege, but a fellow-servant of them. We therefore dismiss these passages with the others. In doing this we cannot help re-

marking that the system which rests on no better foundation than this, is in a pitiful plight indeed, and the man who can parade such passages as a warrant for seeking information from the dead is either guilty of gross ignorance or of a deliberate attempt to deceive his fellow-man. We challenge the whole twenty millions of Spiritualists to produce from the Scripture one instance of departed spirits, either good or bad, giving information to the living, except in the case of Saul and the witch of Endor. Even that solitary case is the strongest refutation of modern Spiritualism. It is very plain from the circumstances that the witch was conscious she was treading forbidden ground—that she only intended to deceive Saul by her trickery, and that she did not expect Samuel would appear, for when he did so she shrieked with terror. He appeared, therefore, not at the call of the witch, but by special command of God, as a rebuke and punishment to the guilty king. This was the crowning folly of Saul's life, the last and foulest ingredient in his cup of iniquity, and the principal cause of his tragic end. Modern spiritualism professes to call up the spirits of the dead, and to seek information from them concerning the spirit-world. It can be regarded, therefore, in no other light than a revival of the ancient necromancy so commonly practised by the wicked in Old Testament times. For that did just what spiritualists do, sought information from the dead. The two are, therefore, identical. Now, what says the Book of God concerning necromancy? In the first place, it solemnly forbids the practice: "Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards to be defiled by them." (Lev. xix. 31). Again, "There shall not be found among you . . . . . an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord; and because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee." (Deut. xviii. 10, 12). Again, nothing can be more explicit on the point than the following: "And when they shall say unto you, seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep, and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead? To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." (Isaiah viii. 19). Not only is the practice solemnly forbidden, but the most terrible threatenings are uttered against the guilty, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch (the medium) to live." (Ex. xxii. 18.) "And the soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people." "And a man also or a woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death: their blood shall be upon them." (Liv. xx. 6, 27.)

We have already shown, that it would be impossible for "the spirits of just men made perfect" to be guilty of teaching such shameless indecencies, to oppose the declared will of God, to stigmatize the atonement of his Son, to impart forbidden knowledge to the living, and overturn the authority of the Bible. The spirits that do these things savour not of God, but of the devil, not of heaven, but of hell. Here, then, is their character beyond all doubt. They are demons,—the spirits of wicked men, under Satanic influence and direction, employed by Diabolos, to deceive, and seduce mankind from the faith of the gospel. Even Spiritualists admit that the spirits of bad men cause them no little trouble, and advise their friends to be on their guard against them. It is not very plain by what rule or test they are to be guided. Certainly not by the Bible. The fact is, they have no test, neither have they been able to establish the identity of the communicating spirits. The only safe rule by which we can judge of their character, is the nature of the revelations they make. "By their fruits ye shall know them." And this rule brands them as the authors of the most fascinating, insidious, and corrupt apostacy that has ever afflicted the world. The same kind of spirits troubled the church in Paul's days, and he warned the Corinthians against them. "But I say that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God, and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils," (1 Cor. 10-20). The word "devils" occurs twice in this verse, but it is demons in the original. The same word is used, without exception, in all those places in the gospels which speak of "devils" (demons) possessing human beings. Sometimes the ancient Pagans used the word to signify their heroes whom they had deified, and at other times to represent malignant spirits whom they propitiated. But in the New Testament it is invariably used in an evil sense,—to signify the departed spirits of bad men. Here, then, we have Spiritualism forbidden in the New Testament. "I would not that ye should have fellowship with demons." Paul further predicts a gigantic apostacy, to be brought about by the agency of these same spirits of the wicked. "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils (demons); speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats." (1 Tim. 4, 1-3.) It is a striking coincidence worthy of remark, that every feature of this apostacy is reflected in modern spiritualism. We are not prepared to affirm that the two are therefore identical, but suggest the point for the consideration of those better able to judge.

Such then is the system which is spreading among the nations

with a rapidity unparalleled by any religion of either the past or present. It has swept like lightning from city to city and from nation to nation. It has taken hold of the East like a spell, and is converting our colonists by thousands. In England, France, Germany, and America, thousands of families, high in rank, intelligence and learning, are more familiar with the rappings of the spirits than with their Bibles. Spiritualism is said to be patronized by all the crowned heads of Europe, and to be advocated and defended by the most eminent statesmen, theologians, and scientists of the age. It sends forth its newspapers, tracts, periodicals, &c. in thousands, and tens of thousands. In 1865, just seventeen years from the time of its first appearance,—it had 500 public, and 50,000 private media; upwards of 1,000 regular lecturers; 2,000 places for spirit circles; and a membership computed at twenty millions. Considering these things, there is no other religion extant that has a fairer prospect of universal empire. There are, beyond all doubt, mixed up with it, some elements of Bible truth. This, taken with its seductive theory of communicating with departed friends, and its pandering to the licentious appetites of men, may help to account for its rapid growth and present position.

J. N.

Art. III.—POPERY IN IRELAND.

IRELAND'S spiritual condition under the influence of Popery is illustrated by the following incidents which occured in connection with the writer's missionary labours some years ago in an intensely Romish district of the Emerald Isle. They are brief historic narratives of discussions held by me with many Irish Roman Catholics; and it is humbly hoped the perusal of them in this unimbellished form may awaken a deeper interest in the evangelization of Ireland, and furnish the young missionary labouring in that land with arguments by which the Romish dogmas may be refuted.

On my first going to reside as a missionary in this district I had the utmost difficulty in procuring a suitable residence. Before the proprietor would venture to receive me as his tenant he had first to obtain leave of his priest, and then to ascertain if it would be lucky to receive my rent-money. On my crossing a field in which oats were being sowed, the superstitious owner brought the priest to sprinkle my footprints with holy water, and to invoke a blessing upon the land and seed, lest I should have blighted his crops. Is it any wonder that Ireland's emancipation seems far distant? The

numbers of those who embrace the truth must necessarily be few. Her present spiritual condition is fitly delineated by the Hebrew Prophet, "Darkness covers the earth, and gross darkness the people." But faith in the irrevocable promises of God beholds the certainty of the fulfilment of the same seer's vaticination, "The Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee."

A priest had heard that a missionary had come to proselyte his flock, and to open schools to educate the children in the knowledge of the Bible. He visited one of these schools to put horns, as he assured his flock, upon the writer's head. I was present, but never was honoured with wearing the miraculous antlers. He said, "Sir, do you not know that the Protestant churches are indebted to the Church of Rome for the Bible, and that it is by her infallible authority, with which Christ invested her, the 'Canon' and interpretation of Scripture are established. Why, then, do you come to this country to unsettle the faith of this people, and to persuade them to abandon the church of their ancestors?" It was answered that if the Church of Rome has been the custodian of the Bible, as he alleged, she was like Pharaoh's daughter in nursing Moses, preserving a book destined by God to effect her complete destruction. But Protestants have access to several original copies and ancient versions of the Scriptures which never were in the custody of the Latin Church.

The Jewish nation had the "oracles of God" entrusted to them long before the Church of Rome had any existence. The integrity and completeness of the Hebrew Bible, and also of the Greek copy of the old Testament in circulation in the time of Christ, have been attested by our Lord and his apostles. The apocryphal books added by the enactment of the Council of Trent had no place in the Hebrew Bible, nor in the first editions of the Septuagint.* This fixes the Canon of the Old Testament. Besides, Josephus, the Jewish historian, in his first book against APION, gives the number of the inspired books received as a Divine revelation by his nation, and his enumeration contains all the books, and none else, that constitute the Protestant Bible. We are not, therefore, indebted to the Church of Rome for our knowledge of what books are to be included in the CANON of the Old Testament. Nor are we indebted to her for our knowledge of those that constitute the CANON of the New Testament. The ancient SYRIAC version, denominated the Peschito, or literal version, was made before the close of the first century, and more than two hundred years previous to St. Jerome's

* The reader will see this proposition fully investigated in my pamphlet —"Thoughts on Inspiration and the Canon," chap ii., sec. 1. The book may be had on application to myself, or to Dr. Antliff, of Sunderland, or the Primitive Methodist book-room.

Latin version called the Vulgate, the "only authoritative standard of faith," sanctioned by the decrees of the Romish Church. Mr. Rich, in his travels through Asia, discovered in Assyria fifty-nine Syriac manuscripts, which are now in the British Museum, and to the examination of which Protestant scholars have free access. The language of the Peschito is the ecclesiastical language of the Nestorians and of the Syriac Christians discovered in India and Central Asia, who never had any connection with the Latin Church. These Syriac manuscripts have confirmed the accuracy of the present Hebrew and Greek texts from which the authorised version is rendered, and supply historic evidence of the most ancient and valuable kind in fixing the Canon of the New Testament. Instead of the Church of Rome having been invested with infallible authority to fix the Canon of Inspiration, she has been proved guilty of having corrupted it. She is, therefore, incompetent to give an infallible interpretation of the sense of Scripture.—The priest was then asked what proof he could adduce that Christ had appointed the Church of Rome to be His Church? He quoted the commission to the apostles: "Lo, I am with you alway, to the end of the world." I replied, "Then your Church depends upon the testimony of Scripture for her existence and authority, instead of the Scriptures, as you have alleged, deriving their authority from the testimony of the Church. The paramount authority of Scripture as the Rule of Faith is the fundamental principle of Protestantism, which you have been forced to admit." His Reverence politely bade me good-bye, stating I was the most acute Protestant he had ever met.

Transubstantiation.

A professional gentleman once asked the writer if he believed if the bread and wine in the Eucharist are converted into the body, blood, soul, and divinity of Jesus Christ on the priest's pronouncing the words of consecration. On his being answered in the negative, he said, "Then you do not believe the words of Christ recorded in your own Bible—'This is my body?'" &c. He was informed that his Church had not given a correct interpretation of that text; for if any change in the elements had been effected, it was not during the pronouncing of the words of consecration, but in the act of giving the elements to the disciples. Our senses perceive no change of the accidents or properties of the elements after consecration from those which they possessed previous to it. Now this change would occur if the bread ceased to be bread and became the body of a man, and if the wine in the chalice ceased to be wine, and became blood. We only know that one substance is different and distinct from another by the difference of its attributes or qualities exhibited to our senses. We know nothing of the essence of matter, but we are impelled by the laws of our constitution to believe that

the qualities of any substance correspond with the essence of that substance in which these qualities inhere. When our Lord turned the water into wine at Cana's nuptial feast, the substance denominated water ceased to possess the properties or qualities of water, and exhibited to the organs of sense of all the guests the qualities of wine. The attributes of water being transubstantiated into those possessed by wine, we are irresistibly compelled to believe that the essence in which these attributes inhere was changed also. It was by the testimony of the senses of those who witnessed this miracle that they knew that Jesus had performed a miracle. Man's organs of sense have been conferred upon him by his Creator, that through them he may discover the existence and attributes of external nature. Their testimony is a revelation from God, and in all things, except in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, Roman Catholics yield the same implicit confidence in their report that Protestants do. "But could not," he asked, "Almighty power effect such a transformation in the elements without being perceived by our senses, and when Christ says, 'This is my body,' may we not believe his word?" I replied, "Our Lord's words are to be understood in a figurative sense, and not literally; and we have no proof that a change has been effected. If our senses deceive us in this ordinance, we have not any evidence that they are trustworthy in anything. It was known only through their testimony that Christ cleansed the lepers, raised the dead, gave sight to the blind, and calmed tempestuous seas. And Catholics are still dependent upon their faithful report whether there be a Bible at all, or that their priest is at the altar celebrating mass, or that he has even pronounced the words of consecration—'HOC EST CORPUS MEUM'—This is my body." It was shown that this phrase was figurative, and merely signified that the bread represented the body of Christ. In proof of this he was referred to the grammatical construction of the text, "Jesus took bread, and blessed it [bread], and break it [bread], and gave it [bread] to the disciples, and said, Take [bread]; eat [bread]; this [bread] is my body," Matt. xxvi. 26. This clearly shows that it was bread which he gave to his disciples and not his body. Even suppose that Christ did change this bread into his body, it would be a body different from the one which gave it away, and which still remained in conversation with them at the table, and was afterwards crucified. Besides, St. Paul understood the language of our Lord in a figurative, and not in a literal sense, for he calls it bread three times after it had been consecrated. (See 1 Cor. xi. 26-28). Now the inspired apostle must have called the element by its right name; because if the bread had ceased, after consecration, to be bread, and had become a body, he doubtless would have so designated it. For him then to call it bread THREE times after it was

blessed, proves that no transubstantiation had been effected, and that Christ is not corporeally present in the Eucharist. That the language is figurative is evident from parallel phrases found in Scripture. In John x. 7-9, Christ says he is a "door." Did he become, on uttering this word, a real door? He said he was a "vine," and his disciples were "branches." Are we to suppose from this statement he became a real tree, and his disciples real branches? Do not Romanists as well as Protestants understand this language as figurative? Christ is called a rock, (1 Cor. x. 4). Did he become a real mass of stone? He said of himself, "I am the BREAD of life. This is the bread which came down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die."—John vi. 48, 50, 51. Did our Lord on uttering these words cease to be a man, and become a loaf of bread, that under that appearance his followers might eat him, and thus possess eternal life, and "not die?" It would be just as reasonable to argue from these words that Christ became literal bread, as to assert that the bread in the Eucharist becomes his body. The phraseology is precisely the same. If Christ is to be understood as meaning that he is bread in a figurative sense, he is in like manner to be understood to mean that the bread and wine in the Eucharist are figures of his body and blood. The gentleman was candid enough to admit that there was great force of reason in this interpretation, which he confessed he could not answer; but added that he would reflect upon what he had heard, and would seek at some future time another interview with the writer.

At our next interview he said,—"I have been reading our Catechisms and other theological books, and they refer in proof of a real presence of Christ in the Eucharist to John vi. 53, 54: 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life abiding in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life.' This command can only be obeyed by receiving our Lord corporeally in the Eucharist. Does this text not prove that the words 'This is my body,' are to be understood in a literal, and not in a figurative sense as you teach?" He was shown that this text in John had no reference to the Eucharist. The words were addressed to the Jews who had eaten of the bread with which Christ had miraculously fed the multitudes, and were spoken about a year previous to the institution of the Lord's Supper, (verse 26). In the sixty-third verse of this chapter in John, Christ declares that his language is to be understood in a figurative sense, and that it is a spiritual, and not a literal or corporeal eating and drinking of which he speaks. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." To affirm that this phraseology means a literal eating of Christ's flesh in the

Eucharist, after he has himself explained the true meaning which he intended to convey to those of his hearers who then misunderstood him, is to misrepresent his teaching, and to deceive ourselves. Our Lord repudiates the idea of a literal eating of his flesh and drinking his blood; to adduce this language as proof of a corporeal eating of Christ in the Eucharist is to contradict his own meaning and to pervert the Holy Scriptures. If transubstantiation were true, Christ must have had as many bodies as there have been masses celebrated since his ascension into heaven. The Bible teaches that the heavens must receive him till the time of the restitution of all things (Acts iii. 20, 21). And the Apostles Creed, which every good Catholic holds by, asserts that Jesus "ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty, from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." If he be on the Father's right hand, he cannot be on a thousand Romish altars upon earth—a distinct person in each of thousands of consecrated wafers. In order that he might console his disciples who were sorrowful at his departure, he promised to send them in HIS ABSENCE, the Holy Spirit—the Comforter. "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart I will send him unto you."—John xvi. 7. The descent, therefore, of the Holy Spirit is demonstrative proof that our Lord has departed from earth as the man Christ Jesus; that his human nature consisting of body and blood, and a reasonable soul, has departed from earth—and consequently he is not corporeally present in the Eucharist. Jesus has "gone his way to him that sent him," according to one of his declarations to both his disciples and the Jews.

Many conversations of a similar kind were held with this earnest inquirer. He was desirous that I should meet him in his own house as he could there open his mind more freely and fully. His invitation was accepted; but his wife was opposed to the visit. She made the sign of the cross upon her face, and prayed "the Mother of God" to keep her and her family from all harm. She hinted that boiling water should be poured upon the men who sought to unsettle the faith of the people, and turn them from the church of their fathers. Her husband stated that my visit was at his invitation. I apologised for the inconvenience I had occasioned, gently remarking that St. Paul was once of the same mind as the lady—warmly attached to the religion of his fathers; but he afterwards saw good reasons to embrace a new religion.

On another occasion he said, "I have been thinking much of a statement in Dr. Butler's 'General Catechism,' viz., 'The sacrifice of the mass is the body and blood of Christ, which are really presented under the appearance of bread and wine, and offered to

God by the priest for the living and the dead.' Would you be so kind as to tell me what is your answer to that statement?" I showed him that the laity did not receive the Eucharist in both kinds, that the cup was withheld from them contrary to the order of the institution. The priest only received both bread and wine. He replied that none but apostles were recipients when Christ instituted the Eucharist; and that the priests had a right, and only the priests, to both kinds, as they were the successors of the apostles. He referred in proof of the laity having received in one kind only to Acts xx. 7, "The disciples came together to break bread." He was reminded that on that occasion the apostle Paul was present, who must have, as an apostle, received under both kinds, according to his argument, though bread only is mentioned, that the narrative indicates the ordinance by reference to one element; and is to be understood and explained in harmony with the record of the institution given by the Evangelists. The practice of the Apostolic Church at Corinth confirms this view. Paul avers that he delivered this ordinance to that church as he had received it from the Lord Jesus, and refers to their use of the cup or chalice as one of the elements. Now, all the members of that church were not clergymen; for the duties of female members are prescribed in chapter xxii., which contains the record of their observance of the Eucharist. The disciples at Troas came together to "break bread," and not a body, and the Corinthian Church used wine and not blood. Both instances are decisive refutations of the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation.

"But how could the Corinthians," he asked, "be blameable for not discerning the Lord's body if he were not corporeally present in the Eucharist?" It was answered, because they had degraded the ordinance instituted to commemorate the Saviour's love in redeeming the church with his blood into a sensual revel. They did not discern, through these symbols, by the eye of faith, his love and compassion in offering himself a sacrifice on their behalf. Hence they were blameable. The Catholic does not see him visibly present in the Eucharist any more than does the Protestant. To both he is spiritually present and spiritually discerned. And this accords with the general teaching of Scripture, "Christ dwells in our heart by faith." (Eph. iii. 17). This is not a corporeal in-dwelling in our hearts. "Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink. But this he spake of the spirit, which they that believe upon him should receive." (John vii. 37). Drinking is here explained to mean believing on him. In no other way could his audience at that time drink of him; for he was not yet sacrificed, either in the Mass or on the Cross. "If you, dear friend," I continued, "believe upon the Lord Jesus, whose blood

cleanseth from all sin, you will discern his body by faith in the Eucharist; and will also in the spiritual sense taught in God's Word 'eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood,' and so have 'eternal life abiding in you.'" "Then, according to your view," he replied, "there is no saving efficacy in the Mass for either the living or the dead?" "None whatever," I said. "The doctrine is contrary to the plain declarations of Scripture; it is a perversion of the gospel of God's grace; and is derogatory to the all-sufficient merits of Christ's death." 'Being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." It was further shown that the doctrine of the Mass contradicts Christ's dying declaration on the cross, when he said, "It is finished." Paul states that believers are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus once. (Heb. x. 10.) This is an inspired refutation of the dogma which affirms that the mass is a continuation of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. The Scriptures prove the imperfection and inadequacy to atone for sin of the sacrifices offered by the Jewish priests, from their continual repetition. (Heb. x. 1.) There inefficiency is contrasted with the *one perfect* and *complete* sacrifice of Jesus. "But this man after he had offered *one sacrifice* for sins, for ever sat down upon the right hand of God, for by *one offering* he hath *perfected for ever* them that are sanctified." (Heb. x. 12, 14.) I added, "Let us believe God rather than men. These texts prove that the Mass is an unmeaning and unnecessary ceremony. The efficacy of Christ's atonement is applied to our souls by faith in the gospel, and not by the unbloody sacrifice of the Mass." This interview led to the examination of several portions of Scripture bearing upon the atonement, justification by faith only, the regeneration of the soul by the Holy Spirit, and not by penances or ecclesiastical rites, and a consciousness of the believer's acceptance before God.

That the Mass could not benefit the dead was proved from the fact that true faith made the soul one with Christ, so that his righteousness became the believer's. At death the believer immediately passes into glory. To depart was to be with Christ (Phil. i. 23.) To be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord, (2 Cor. v. 8.) The destinies of the rich man and Lazarus clearly proved the immediate passage of the departing souls into heaven and hell. (Luke xvi. 19. 31.) Had our Lord taught the doctrine of the Mass no fitter opportunity during his earthly ministry could have occured to inculcate it than when he narrated this parable. But neither he nor any of the inspired writers refer to the doctrine. That no religious rite performed in this life can benefit the dead is expressly stated in God's word. "The dead know not anything; neither have they any more a reward; neither

have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun." (Eccles. ix. 5, 6.)

During another interview he refered to Limbo, the prison of the holy fathers, the place that his church taught the souls of the Old Testament saints entered, and remained in till our Lord suffered. His priest, whom he had consulted on the subject of these interviews, had quoted in proof of its existence, 1 Peter iii. 19, "By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison." "Does this Scripture not prove the existence of Purgatory?" he asked with great eagerness. He was informed that Purgatory was not taught in Scripture; that it was not received as a doctrine of the Church during the first century of the Christian Era, nor did the Church of Rome give an official and an authoritative declaration of it as an article of faith till the seventh century, when it was made binding by a Bull of Pope Gregory the First. It originated with the heathen philosophy of ancient Greece; and in the hands of the Popedom it became a mighty engine of power in coercing the multitudes enslaved by ignorance and superstition, and a source of immense wealth to the priesthood. The text in Peter does not refer to spirits, to whom the soul of Christ preached whilst his body was in the state of the dead; but to the disobedient antediluvians to whom Christ by his spirit in Noah preached whilst the ark was preparing for the flood. This is evident from the context. Their spirits at the time Peter wrote were, through their *disobedience* or "unbelief," in the prison of hell. Their doom for impenitency is referred to by the apostle, as a warning to all who hear the gospel, so as not to reject it as the antediluvian sinners did. The Spirit that was in Noah "the preacher of righteousness," and by whom all the Old Testament prophets spoke is said by this apostle to have been "the Spirit of Christ which was in them." (1 Peter i. 11).

"May I venture to ask you another question?" he said, "Most certainly," I replied. "Do we not sin to the last moment of our lives? How then can we enter heaven immediately at our death, if there be no Purgatory?" I now showed him that the Scriptures declare "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin." Our faith in Christ makes us one with Christ, his obedience to the Divine law under which we were originally created becomes ours; we are one with him in his death, in his resurrection, and ascension to glory. "There is therefore now no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus." (Rom. viii. 1.) *We are complete in him.* (Col. ii. 10.) Just as we fell through our oneness with Adam in his first offence, so we live and become righteous before God through our oneness by faith with Jesus—the second Adam (See Rom. v. 19; 1 Cor. xv. 47-49). The Lord's prayer and some of his parables represent our sinful condition as a debt which we cannot pay (Matt. vi. 12; Luke vii. 41-48). Jesus is designated

the *Surety* (Heb. vii. 22). If a surety pays the debt of an insolvent debtor, he is as free as if he never owed a farthing. The Old Testament saints needed no Purgatory any more than the saved soul dying under the gospel dispensation needs one, because they entered heaven upon God's guarantee, announced in the first promise in Eden, that the woman's seed—even Jesus—should in the fulness of time bruise the head of the serpent and redeem them that were under the law. (Gal. iv. 4-6). A debtor is legally free from the obligations of his debt during the whole period between the acceptance of his surety's bond and the stipulated time at which the actual payment is to be made. In like manner the Old Testament saints at their death were free from every claim of law, and consequently needed not to enter Limbo; for they stood by faith upon the Covenant promise of "the Lamb slain from the foundations of the world." (Rev. xiii. 8.) In proof of this we are told of Moses and Elias appearing in glory upon the mount of transfiguration, talking with Christ of the decease he should accomplish at Jerusalem; Moses representing those Old Testament saints in glory who entered heaven through the dark gate of death, Elias representing those who enter heaven without "tasting death." They were glorified and made happy with heaven's felicity, previous to the Saviour's actual payment upon the cross of their debt, and thus demonstrating that there was no Purgatory, nor any necessity for one. (Luke ix. 31.)

The Lord opened this man's eyes and heart. He renounced all connection with Rome, and embraced Jesus as "the Lord his righteousness." For many years after his conversion he read the Scriptures to Roman Catholics in his neighbourhood. He braved the priestly denunciations from the altar, and the influence of wife and dearest relatives. On his death-bed he solemnly charged his wife to meet him in heaven, and to remain no longer in opposition to the teachings of God's Book. After a brief illness he passed away, resting on the merits alone of Christ, and rejoicing in His salvation.

Some years after his death his wife called on me to know if a sinner so hardened as she had been could be forgiven. Her husband's conversations and peaceful end had convinced her that there was a power in his new religion to which she was an entire stranger. She was reminded of the conversion of Saul of Tarsus, the chief of sinners. His change of heart is recorded as a "pattern to all who should hereafter believe." She placed herself under evangelical instruction, and eventually embraced Christ. She acquired a most extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and grew in spiritual attainments. Some of her children, through her example and influence, became favourably disposed to the mission. On her death-

bed she called in many Christian acquaintances to pray and read the Scriptures with her. Her death-bed experience of the love of God, and of the sanctifying power and consolations of His Holy Spirit, was most refreshing to her visitors. Though the priest and his numerous emissaries did their best to obtain access to her sick chamber, her Catholic relatives became so overawed with the Scriptural instruction she imparted in her conversations that they protested against any priestly intrusion. She followed her husband, resting on the efficacy of the atonement of Jesus the Great High Priest.

The Forsaken Wife.

Some years ago a Roman Catholic, residing in the vicinity of the celebrated bog of Allen, in Ireland, sent two of his daughters to a mission-school. The girls were instructed in plain and fancy needlework, besides the ordinary branches of an English education. Whilst engaged in knitting or sewing, they were also taught to sing a number of evangelical hymns, or by repeating aloud, after the teacher, to commit to memory texts of Scripture. After months of unremitting perseverance many of the female pupils had acquired a taste for sacred vocal music; and through the exertions of Christian ladies in Scotland and England, the girls realised a few shillings weekly from the sale of their needlework. In their homes they relieved the monotony of labour by singing the hymns and repeating the texts which they had learned at school. The light of Divine truth thus permeated many an Irish cabin, and illuminated and cheered the souls of many who had long sat in darkness and the region and shadow of death.

One of the daughters of the man just referred to received a bible as a reward for regular attendance and progress in her lessons. Her mother was greatly pleased with this mark of distinction, and even still more with the school, on finding that the sale of her daughter's work had added a few shillings to the weekly income of the family. It pleased the Lord to bless the reading of this bible to the soul of this girl; she became deeply impressed with her sinfulness, and felt that if this book was God's word she must trust alone to the merits of that Saviour who died upon the Cross. She committed whole chapters to memory, and read much of it aloud to the family, and sung her hymns. She prayed earnestly for the Comforter whom Jesus had promised to send to come into her heart, and show her the truth. After months of serious thought and continuous prayer to God, she decided for Christ, and told her mother that penances and confession were of no use in saving their souls from sin, for God had told the Church of Rome in the days of St. Paul—"Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," (Rom. v. i.) That King David who spoke by

the Holy Ghost (2 Sam. xxiii., 2; Acts i., 16) said in the thirty-second psalm, verse 5, "I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." The mother was greatly perplexed at this statement, and her neighbours said the girl should be withdrawn from the school, and the book that taught these things should be burned. The daughter, however, had found peace in believing the Saviour whom the precious book revealed, and became most anxious about the salvation of her mother's soul. She embraced every opportunity of directing her to God's love in giving his Son to die for sinners, and the sufficiency of the merits of his sacrifice to put away all our sins. After a fearful struggle with her early prejudices, the opposition of her husband and eldest son, the ridicule of neighbours, and the dread of her priests, the mother also decided for Christ.

The priest was soon informed of the change of religious views now entertained by this woman and her daughter; he visited the family, and assured them that as long as they attended the heretic schools, and absented themselves from mass, and neglected to observe the laws of the Church, there would be as many devils in their house as there were rafters in its roof. The husband and eldest son became greatly alarmed at this announcement, and declared to "his rivirence" that they would not let them go any more with the "Jumpers." When the priest was gone, the husband said, "The whole affair will end badly if we go against the Church and the Lord's anointed clergy." The wife with tears said, "Mavourneen (i.e., my darling), surely I and my child have a right to worship God as he directs in his blessed word. And if the priests were right, sure they would not go against Christ and His holy apostles?" The husband solemnly threatened that he and his eldest son would separate from the family till they ceased attending on the mission meetings, for he was sure the house was filled with evil spirits. The poor wife burst into a flood of tears, crying out, "Mavourneen, mavourneen, sure you would not do the likes of that. It would break my heart out and out." The daughter sobbed out, "I cannot forsake my bible, my Saviour, my school. If father and mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up." "Yes," added the mother, "he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." The husband and son carried out this cruel threat, and for years never gave one penny to support the family, now consisting of the wife and four children. Great were the trials and pecuniary difficulties to which this forsaken wife was subjected; but God's grace was abundantly sufficient for them. The four children clung to their deserted mother, and in time all of them renounced mass, and embraced the Lord Jesus as their only priest and Saviour. The writer spent many happy hours

in reading and expounding the Scriptures to this family. The daughters, with a noble heroism and Christian fortitude, assiduously plied their needle, and the sale of their work contributed largely to the family maintenance. After four years of unrelaxed toil and bitter opposition from an incensed, bigoted populace, a wasting consumption developed itself in the constitution of both mother and daughter. Husband and son had heard of their illness, but would not visit them, or send any pecuniary assistance, till they should become reconciled to the true Church. As their end approached, devotees of the Order of the Carmelites urged them to send for the priest and receive the last rites. The sick women replied that they had been justified through the blood of Jesus, and were saved from wrath through him. Also that the Church of Rome of the present day had fallen from the doctrines which she held when St. Paul wrote his epistle to her, for he told her that sinners were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, and not by any rites which a sinful man could perform (Rom. v., 9—10). "But," said the Carmelite, "you ought to confess to a priest, and receive Extreme Unction before you die, for St. James has commanded it." "You entirely misunderstand that statement," said the sick woman. "According to the Apostle James we are to confess our faults to one another when we have injured each other, and the priest has the same direction to confess to the people when he does them an injury that they have to confess to him, so that that text does not prove the doctrine for which you have quoted it. Sin, as the transgression of God's law, is to be confessed to God, who only can forgive it. Ezra commanded the Israelites to confess their sins to the Lord God, and not to him, though he was a priest, (Ezra x. 10.) David confessed to the Lord (Psalm xxxii. 5), Daniel did so, (Dan. ix.), and we too are great sinners, but we have confessed our sins to God, through his Son the alone Mediator, who has promised, If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness,—1 John, i. 9. We believe the word of God, and feel that he for Christ's sake has forgiven us. As for the anointing to which James refers, it is to give bodily health; but the priest never anoints any one till he is sure the person will not recover." "No," said the Carmelite, "it is to give to the soul of the sick spiritual health and salvation." "That cannot be the design of the unction," replied the sick woman, "for the soul of the anointed, according to your church, still must go into purgatory, and remain there till it is prayed out by masses; whilst, if it were raised up to spiritual health and salvation, it would not need to go there at all. And you know very well that a priest will not anoint a criminal previous to his execution, because he is not sick. Now, if extreme unction was intended to give a soul spiritual health and

salvation, surely the soul of a poor wicked criminal is in the greatest need of receiving the rite." This silenced the Carmelite.

On calling one morning to know how they had passed the night, to my surprise, I found the soul of the young girl had passed away, and that the mother was but a few hours from the portals of eternity. She was calm, spoke of her daughter's glorious triumph, of her having repeated at intervals texts from Romans v. and viii, and that one of her last utterances was, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ," &c. She felt she should soon be united with her in the presence of God and the Lamb, where there would be no sorrow, nor tears, nor death, and where the inhabitants would never more say "I am sick." She also expressed her decided conviction that in answer to her prayers, God would grant the conversion of her husband and son; that their unkind conduct was not so much the want of natural affection, as the withering influence of a cruel system. During that day she breathed her last in the full and certain hope of being for ever with the Lord. It was a solemn sight to see two corpses in one room, mother and daughter. Their happy death without the rites of the the Romish Church produced quite a sensation in the district. On the morning of the funeral, the writer addressed a few words to the few friends who had assembled to bear the remains to the grave-yard attached to the mission-meeting house, from the text "Having a desire to depart and to be with Christ." Some Romanists were present, and I observed an elderly man and a young man, whom I had not seen before, deeply affected. On enquiring, I found they were the husband and the son of the forsaken deceased wife. As the funeral procession moved on a mob followed, uttering savage yells, but no deed of violence was perpetrated.

The Prayer Answered.

Some days after the interment I visited the family, and was politely received by the husband, who, with his son, had now resolved not to leave the children again. I said, "I am glad to see you both, and I hope you will put your trust in that Saviour in whom your dear departed ones trusted." "Is it not true," he asked, "that the Church of Rome was founded by St. Peter, that she was the first Christian Church, and that Christ has promised to be with her till the end of the world? Sure, then, all other sects and churches must be guided in doctrine by her teaching?"

I replied, "That there is no truth in any of those statements, though they are frequently advanced by Roman Catholics. The Church at Jerusalem was the first Christian Church. It was planted by the Apostles on the day of Pentecost, long before there was any church in Rome. It was to the church at Jerusalem, and not to the church at Rome, the church at Antioch applied for direction

in matters of doctrine—Acts xv. This shows that the church of Rome was neither the first church, nor the mistress of churches. It was St. James's, and not St. Peter's, counsel which was followed in the deliberations of that church, (Acts xv. 13-29), which proves that Peter was not held by the Apostolic churches as "Prince of the Apostles." Besides, had our Lord invested the church of Rome with infallible authority to guide and direct other churches, there would have been no necessity for his appearing to his beloved apostle John in the Isle of Patmos, and inspiring him to send the letters of reproof and direction to the seven churches of Asia, (Rev. i. ii. iii.) This clearly proves that the church of Rome had no divinely-appointed superintendence over these churches. For God does not miraculously create a new mode of effecting his purposes when he has one quite adequate for its accomplishment previously established." It was further remarked that Christ's promise of being with his church till the end of the world was not made to any particular body of Christians, meeting in a certain town, to the exclusion of all other societies of Christians, but to all societies or churches of regenerated men in every place (see Matt. xviii. 19, 20) that hold the doctrines which Christ teaches in the Scriptures. Paul told the church of Rome in his day that she stood by faith; that her rejection by God was as certain as that of the Jewish nation, if she, like Israel, should depart from the truth and injunctions of the Almighty, "For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed, lest he also spare not thee," (Rom. xi. 19-21.) It is evident that the church of Rome of the present day holds doctrines different to those taught by St. Paul in his epistle to the church of Rome in *his day*. She cannot, therefore, possess the continued presence of Jesus as promised to the Apostles in their Commission. There is no evidence from either Scripture or authentic history that ever Peter was in Rome, much less is there proof that he was a Bishop in Rome. It was evident that Peter was not at Rome when Paul wrote his epistle to that church, for he does not include his name amongst those in the sixteenth chapter, whom he there saluted. And it is equally certain Peter was not there when Paul was sent a prisoner to Rome, or he would doubtless have met Paul with the Jews and the OTHER BRETHREN. Several of Paul's epistles were written from Rome, yet Peter's name is not mentioned in any of them, though he names other Christians resident there. Had Peter been there as a member of the church, or still more, as its Supreme Bishop, and Prince of Apostles! Paul surely would have made some reference to him. There is, therefore, no proof of his ever having been there at all." He replied, "Your Bible may have passed over many things about Peter, which is contained in our Bible." I then showed him a copy of Bishop Denvir's Douay Bible, in which there is a letter of Pope Pius the Sixth,

approving of a translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular. He requested the loan of it, and on his promising not to give it to the priest, I lent it. I marked all the texts which I had cited, and also others referring to the atonement and intercession of Christ, justification by faith, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, desiring that he would compare the Douay version with the authorised one. He promised to do so. His son was present, but remained silent.

On my next visit, he was engaged in comparing the two versions. He said, "I am reading the Bible, and am greatly struck with the similarity of ideas, and in some verses almost the same words are used in both books. I never would have believed this, had I not looked into them for myself. In fact, there is no real difference between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Bibles. I see in the Douay Bible notes, to explain away the meaning of some texts, but the texts themselves appear to prove the doctrines which you teach." I observed that every new version in English, as a general rule, issued by the bishops of the Romish Church approached nearer to the Protestant authorised version than the older editions; and the notes were the opinions of fallible, uninspired men, whilst the texts were designed to represent God's revelation to man as it was first communicated in the original languages by holy prophets and apostles, who wrote and spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. His duty was to learn God's will recorded in the texts, whether the notes were in harmony with the plain and obvious sense of the texts or no. He then added—"There is a note in the Douay Testament prefixed to the first epistle of Peter, which says that Babylon, referred to in chapt. v. 13, was the figurative name for the city of Rome, and that Peter was there when he wrote that epistle. Does this not prove that Peter was at Rome?" I answered, "We have no more right to understand that Peter used the word *Babylon* in a figurative sense to mean Rome, than that he used the word Mark in the same text in a figurative sense to mean some other person. It is always proper to understand words in their literal sense, unless there be something in the context that shows they are to be understood figuratively. Besides, if Babylon here means Rome, and not the *literal* or *real* Babylon, then, according to the note we must believe, and are justified in so doing, that the Babylon spoken of in the Book of Revelation is the Church of Rome, *there denounced as the great Apostasy*—drunk with the blood of the saints." He said, "I never thought of that before: that is most satisfactory. But our clergy say that the laity ought not to read the Bible, for they will take wrong meanings out of it, and that it is to be understood in the sense in which the Church understands it. This thought perplexes me greatly." He was then shown that these statements of the Romish

clergy were contradictions of Christ's explicit command,—"Search the Scriptures" (John v. 39.) God directed the kings of Israel to write a copy of the Divine law with their own hand, and read therein day and night (Deut. xvii. 18-20), which proves that the laity and civil rulers had a right to read and study the Bible, and were capable of understanding its true meaning. A blessing was promised to Joshua if he observed to do all that was WRITTEN in God's word—not the traditions of the priesthood, observe,—but the written law (Joshua i. 8). The Bereans were commended for searching the "Scriptures daily," and for testing the teachings of an inspired apostle by the authority of Scripture: another proof that the laity have a right to study the Bible, and that the common people are capable of understanding its right meaning (Acts xvii.11). We read, "The commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes." The Bible reveals the way of salvation so clearly that Timothy from his childhood knew the Holy Scriptures, which made him wise unto salvation by faith in Christ Jesus—(2 Tim. iii.15,16). The Bible is the only standard of appeal in religious controversy, "If they speak not according to this WORD, it is because there is no light in them." (Isa. viii. 20.) Our Lord, in repelling the attacks of Satan in the wilderness, and in his refutations of the Pharisees and Sadducees appealed to the Scriptures as the highest authority. His example was followed by his apostles in their writings and public addresses. The Church of Rome admits the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and A PART of the Rule of Faith. It is evident that God cannot contradict himself. If then, the Apocrypha, Tradition, the writings of the fathers, and the enactments of Church-councils—(all of which she holds to be of equal authority with the Scriptures)—contradict the Scriptures, or teach anything contrary to them, they cannot have the God of the Bible for their author. Our Lord in his teachings recognises the right of private judgment. He says, "Yea, and why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right." (Luke xii. 57.) He urged the Jews to exercise their own judgment in forming right conclusions in reference to his miracles and character. Paul did the same thing: "I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say." (1 Cor. x. 15.) "Now," I said, "if our Lord and his apostles have left these directions in reference to the reading and studying of the Scriptures by the laity, it is your duty to read the Bible, that you may believe upon the Saviour to the saving of your soul, and it is your duty to reject every doctrine that is contrary to the plain teaching of this inspired Book." He said, "I have but one other question to ask—and my motive is to obtain information. Why have the Apocryphal books been excluded from the Protestant Bible? I see they are in the copy of the Douay one you have been so kind to lend me." I replied, "There are two classes of reasons for their being rejected as

uncanonical and *uninspired* writings? First, the term *Apocrypha* means *hidden, obscure,* or *doubtful.* The Talmud or oral law of the Jews never recognised these books as inspired; and several learned Rabbins or Jewish doctors expressly reject the whole Apocryphal collection. The Jews were God's ancient people, to whom the Old Testament Scriptures were given, and are, therefore, the most competent judges of what books were divinely inspired. The Apocrypha is not found in any copies of the Hebrew Bible, from which the authorised version is translated. Josephus, the Jewish historian, declares that his nation never received it as of Divine authority. It was not written in Hebrew, the language in which the greater portion of the Old Testament was written. Jesus never charged the Jews with suppressing any part of the Scriptures, in their rejection of these books, as he would have done had he considered them inspired; for he hesitated not in charging them with corrupting the inspired books with their traditions. Neither Christ nor his apostles refer in any way to the Apocrypha in their discourses, though they quoted largely from the canonical books. It was not included in the Canon, or list of inspired books, during the first three centuries, and the early Christian fathers never quote it as of Divine authority.

Second. There are also many internal proofs of its human origin. It commends suicide—2. Macc. xiv. 41-46. Some of its writers confess their liability to err; others, that in their time there was no prophet in Israel. The prologue to Ecclesiasticus disclaims all pretensions to inspiration. Magical incantations, which are prohibited by the canonical Scriptures, are sanctioned by an archangel —Tobias vi. 1-9. It inculcates doctrines contrary to the written Word. Every subsequent communication from God must be in harmony with the preceding ones; for God cannot contradict himself. For these reasons the Apocrypha has been excluded from the Bible as a human excrescence."

This man's son was present at this conversation. Both expressed their determination to consider prayerfully what I had said. I held many conversations of a similar kind with them. After a few months, both father and son, one Lord's-day morning, came into my Bible class, stating that by God's grace they had renounced the Mass, and put their trust in that Saviour in whom their dear departed relatives trusted. Tears suffused the cheeks of the old man as he mentioned the names of his wife and daughter; and I could not but recollect the confident hope of their conversion, in answer to her prayers, expressed by his wife upon her death bed. They both attended this class for years, and made rapid progress in the knowledge of divine truth. This family and the mission operations were denounced Sabbath after Sabbath from the altar. One of the priests, a Jesuit, threatened to turn me into a hare, and visited one

of the schools ostensibly for this purpose, followed by a crowd that came to witness the miracle. I was there, and in the presence of his astonished devotees, discussed for some hours with "his reverence" the leading tenets of his church. He departed, however, without effecting the marvellous transformation. Persecution under various forms drove the remnant of this family from the land of their birth. With one exception, the members have found a happy and secure home in a free country, beyond "the wide waste of waters." I have had many cheering letters from father and son, breathing loving attachment to Jesus, and a deep sense of gratitude to me for the great interest I had manifested in the salvation of their souls.

Previous to the son's departure, he communicated *a secret*, which had long troubled his conscience. He reminded me of his having met me on several occasions, previous to his conversion, on an unfrequented part of a road in a thinly populated district. On each of these occasions he came armed, he said, to murder me, to prevent my persuading his father and other members of his family to give up connection with the true church, as I had persuaded his mother and sisters. "This" he added, "is a burden on my conscience, as it was murder in my heart. I was prevented from doing the deed of blood by the unexpected appearance of many people going to and fro at each time. I state this also, to show you God's mercy in changing my wicked heart, and in preserving your life so often when you were ignorant of your danger." On hearing this I was forcibly reminded of those texts, "The very hairs of your head are all numbered." "Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee, the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain." What a change the Holy Spirit, through the knowledge and belief of the Scriptures, can effect in man's heart. How it transformed these men, who had manifested so little affection for their nearest relatives, into loving Christians. The writer of these pages has often heard from reliable sources of information that the lives and characters of parent and children exemplify the power of godliness.

Pat the Irish Peasant.

Pat was the son of a respectable, but zealous, Romanist, residing in the Midland counties of Ireland. Pat from infancy had been carefully trained in loving attachment to the rites of his church, and intense hatred of Protestantism and Saxon rule. He was fully persuaded, when the writer first became acquainted with him, that there was no salvation for any beyond the pale of his church. It was said that he was connected with a secret society in early life, whose professed object was the adjustment of the relations between landlords and tenants. In the good Providence of God, a missionary to Roman Catholics used occasionally to meet Pat, and with

Celtic warmth to salute him, at the same time making some apparently casual reference to the love of God in giving his Son to die upon the cross for sinful men. Pat usually replied that was true for him, and that the missionary was an inoffensive man and meant well to his neighbours, but he ought to know that none could be saved out of the true Holy Roman Catholic Church. It was remarked that that was a mistake; for it was faith in Christ, and not connection with any church, which saves the soul. Judas was a member of a true church, for all its members were the Apostles of our Lord, and this church had Christ for its pastor, yet he was lost. He is called "the son of perdition." He committed suicide, which the Catholic church pronounces a mortal sin. And Jesus said of him: "It were good for him if he had never been born." If union with a church could save, Judas would then have been saved; but he is lost, though he possessed all these privileges; thus clearly proving that to be a member of a true church, and, at the same time to be destitute of faith in Christ, will not save us. The penitent thief was saved by faith in Christ, though he was not a member of any church. Here was salvation bestowed upon a repenting sinner, who never was a church member. Now the Saviour is as powerful and as willing to save all that come unto God through him as he was when he hung upon the cross. Heb. vii. 25. Pat saw the force of these facts against his favourite doctrine, and said: "True for your honour, sure enough, I never thought of such things; I will think over the subject of our conversation till we meet again."

Months passed away, sickness visited Pat's family, the missionary made frequent visits of enquiry as to their recovery. Every opportunity was embraced of directing his attention to the merits of Christ's atonement. In the prospect of death's seizing upon some of his beloved children, the doctrine of purgatory wore a sad and repulsive aspect. He was assured that the doctrine was not taught in Scripture. St. Paul said: "To be absent from the body was to be present with the Lord." (2 Cor. v. 6, 8.) The parable of "the Rich Man and Lazarus" was read to him, which proves the immediate passage of the soul, at death, into either Heaven or Hell. There is no reference whatever to the necessity of masses being said, to repose the departed souls of men, or to deliver them from the pains of purgatory. It was no where taught in the Bible; and when Christ spoke this parable he would have mentioned the doctrine if there had been such a place. "My priest," said Pat, "told me, that Christ and the penitent thief went to paradise; and that, he assured me, was purgatory. Did they not go then there the day they died on the cross? 'To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.'" He was informed that the word *Paradise* meant a *place of felicity*, whilst purgatory is said to be a place of punish-

ment—the fire of which some Romish writers assert is almost as hot as hell-fire. The Bible in another text tells us that Paradise is the "third heaven," (2 Cor. xii. 2, 4,) which amongst the Jews, and in Scripture, designates the holy habitation of God, or the throne of his glory. (1 Kings viii. 27; Isiaah lxiii. 15). This cannot be purgatory or a place of suffering to fit us for Heaven, but it is Heaven itself. "Now, Pat, if Christ has paid your debt, by suffering upon the cross in your stead, a just and holy God, who is also a God of love, will not ask a second payment from those who believe in Christ, neither in this life nor in the next. Christ said with his dying breath, '*It is finished.*' The beloved disciples tells us by Divine inspiration, 'The blood of Jesus Christ, God's son, cleanseth from all sin.' (1 John i. 7.) This delivers us from sufferings in purgatory or in hell. Trust in His blood, believe in this Saviour, and you shall be eternally safe and happy." Pat's family recovered, but these truths made a deep impression on both his own mind and that of his wife. He did not attend so frequently his chapel as formerly; and zealous neighbours whispered to the priest that Pat was going to turn heretic.

The priest called on Pat, and told him of the strange reports which he had been "after hearing about him." Pat confessed that he had been seriously considering what the missionary had told him of the love of God and the merits of his Son's death, for the remarks of the "gintleman" looked very reasonable. His Reverence went into a towering passion, threatened to make "a holy show" of him, by denouncing him next Sunday on "the altar of God," and advised the wife to expel the "Jumper," (*i.e.* a term of reproach given to Protestant Missionaries and Romanists who turn Protestants) the next time he would call on them. Through threats and blandishments Pat promised to be obedient and to return to his duty. Penances were prescribed, which he performed with great zeal and punctuality, but always felt that his conscience at times became alarmed about his sins, and that no rites which he observed gave him any lasting peace. The text, "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth *us* from *all sins*," thrilled his inmost soul, and led him and his wife to ask God to show them the light, and guide them into the true path. Both he and his wife earnestly longed for an opportunity to speak in private with the missionary about the intercession of Saints and of the "blessed Virgin Mary." This desire was also gratified. The writer received a presing invitation to call on Pat, for he and his wife would be glad t, see him. "Sure, yer honour," said Pat, "we are too big sinners to come in ourselves to the holy Redeemer, and therefore we mus ax the saints and the blessed mother of God to intercede for us. Sure if I wanted a favour of some great gintleman, if I made frinds with his mother to intercede with him for me, I

would be more likely to get it than if I went directly to himself. It is not likely that he would refuse his mother; and so when I pray to the blessed virgin, mother of God, to intercede with her Son for me, seeing I am a sinful man, I feel I am more likely to get forgiveness; for sure he wont refuse his own mother at all." He was now shown that the first saints were by nature, and previous to their conversion, sinful creatures, and consequently had no saints to intercede for them. They were saved by coming directly to Christ, according to the invitations of his own word. It was to seek and to save sinners, as such, Christ came into the world and endured the shame and agony of the cross. If he loved sinners so as to endure the wrath of God for them, it was most reasonable to believe that he would intercede for them. The Bible affirms that he makes intercession for transgressors: "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the father, Jesus Christ, the righteous." (1 John ii. 1.) Here it is clearly stated that the sinner's advocate is not the Virgin, nor the saints, but Jesus himself. The Saviour has invited the weary and heavy-laden to come to him and he will give them rest; and he has promised for their encouragement "he will in no wise cast them out." (Matt. xi. 26-30; John vi. 37.) This excludes the necessity for the intercession of the saints or of the blessed virgin. Jesus does not say, "Come to me through my apostles, or through my mother; but, *Come to me.*" We have no evidence, it was further remarked, that the departed saints or the Virgin hear us at all; much less that they have any power to intercede for men on earth. St. Peter refused the homage which Cornelius attempted to offer him (Acts x. 25-26), a clear proof that he would also refuse all such acts of reverence presented him by Catholics, were he permitted to visit our world. Pat was now asked did he not believe that our blessed Lord means what he says? and that he will not deceive us if we come and put our trust in him as he has invited us. Remember, his blood cleanses from all sin. "That looks sure enough very straight," said Pat: "Oh, I could not harbour in my breast a thought so unworthy of the loving and holy Saviour."

It was then stated that the Virgin was not the Mother of God, but she was the mother of Christ's human nature. It was taught by the Church of Rome that Christ had two natures from the time of his advent into this world—the nature of God and the nature of man. As man, the Virgin was his mother; but as God, he could not have a mother, for he existed in the Divine nature from all eternity. Dr. Doyle's "Catechism of Christian Doctrine," which all Romanists in Ireland are obliged to learn, states that, "God is a being without beginning or end of existence; that he existed from all eternity, and shall exist to all eternity." It was clear from Pat's own catechism that the Virgin could not be the "Mother of

God." It was shown that Mary's intercession was never taught by Christ, nor found in Scripture. When one told Jesus that his mother and his brethren desired to speak with him, "He stretched forth his hands towards his disciples and said, Behold my mother and my brethren: for whosoever doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother and sister and mother."—Matt. xii. 46-50. Christ here shows that union with him through obedience to his Father was closer and more endearing than natural descent. This was the most fitting opportunity in the life of Christ to teach Mary's intercession; yet the Lord carefully guards against everything that might appear to countenance it. When one, on another occasion, said, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked," Jesus replied, "Yea, rather, blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it." (Luke xii. 27, 28) The Holy Spirit, by anticipation, in these instances, refutes the doctrine of Mary's intercession. He was also reminded of Solomon's not granting his mother her request, though he had shown her the highest respect, in causing a seat to be placed for her on his throne (1 Kings ii. 19-26). This example illustrates that, as in Solomon's case, there were principles of state and royal government that prevented his granting his mother her request; in like manner there are principles in the moral government of God that prevent the Virgin Mary, or any creature, even the highest archangel, from interceding for sinners. Besides, Mary does not possess the knowledge requisite for the work of intercession. How can she know all the wants of every Roman Catholic in all the world, so as to bring their several petitions before God or Christ, when she did not know where her own son was at the age of twelve years, but sought for him in ignorance of the place in which he was for three days amongst her friends and relations? (Luke ii. 43-49.)

This conversation made a deep impression upon both husband and wife. Pat asked for a copy of the New Testament, that he might read the passages referred to at his leisure, promising that he would not give the book to his priest, but he and his wife would look at these things for themselves. After this I had many conversations with them in private. When he first commenced to read the Bible, he fancied that it gave him headache; but the parables and miracles of Christ so fascinated him, that he could not desist from daily reading the Book. He and his family at last abandoned all attendance upon mass. He sent his elder children to a Mission-school, where they might be taught, he said, to read God's Book. They made rapid progress in the knowledge of it, and two of them become savingly acquainted with Jesus the only Mediator.

The priest endeavoured to induce him to give up his Testament,

but in vain. He said, "Christ's clergy should not deprive the people of the Holy Scriptures, which he commanded them to search." Pat was denounced from the altar; neighbours shunned him as if he were a viper. Old friends called him a "Jumper" and "turncoat." Sometimes he would good humourously reply, "Yes, I have jumped over purgatory, and have turned the right side of my coat out."

A Scene of Horror.

One night Pat was aroused from sleep by the scream of one of his children calling out from her room, that her face was burned by a burning coal falling on her. He sprang from his bed, and then to his horror he discovered that the thatch of his house was on fire. The flames were spreading with fearful rapidity and crackling roar amongst the rafters, and the suffocating smoke in sickening volumes was pouring into his bed-room. He dragged in frantic despair his wife and eight children through a window, and cowered, with a few half-consumed blankets wrapped round them, under the shelter of a hedge till the dawn of day. Had not the sparks fallen on the face of his sleeping child, they might all have been charred corpses. The police ascertained that the fire was the work of an incendiary. Government offered a reward for the information that would bring the perpetrator to justice; but such was never obtained, nor the perpetrator detected. This poor man removed his residence into town, and procured employment as a labourer. His children became pupils in the mission-schools, whilst he attended for eight years previous to his death my adult class in the Sabbath-school. His wife and children gave evidence of real conversion. For twelve years, in the face of many fierce encounters with Romanists, and much poverty, he witnessed a good confession. The hand of death at last was laid upon him; his relatives and former co-religionists pressed him to receive the last rites of the church of his fathers at the hands of the catholic priest. He assured them with his dying breath that their priests were keeping them in the dark. He was perfectly happy, he said, in resting on the finished work of Jesus—the only Great High Priest of sinners. It was sweet to die in the arms of Jesus, knowing to be absent from the body was to be present with the Lord. Thus passed away the ransomed spirit of the persecuted Irish Peasant.

Portadown, Ireland. John Douglas.

ART. V.—THE PULPIT MINISTRATIONS SPECIALLY REQUIRED BY THE AGE.

An Essay read at the Primitive Methodist Ministers' Association, of Hull District, Feb. 28th, 1872.

IN dealing with the subject of this paper we confine our remarks exclusively to the ministrations of the English pulpit. We have therefore nothing to do in describing the wants of other lands, or determining the character of preaching required by France, Italy, or other countries, where infidelity and Romanism predominate among the people. It may, however, be in place to say that English society somewhat differs from that of nearly every other European nation, inasmuch as our social and religious institutions are founded upon more liberal principles, which of necessity tend to throw the ideas of the people, as well as their mode of living, into a freer mould. A great disparity therefore subsists between the religious condition of a liberty-loving people and that of a people hedged in by the unnatural limitations of civil despotism and ecclesiastical tyranny. Hence, to state the matter very broadly, the pulpit ministrations demanded by the age in England are such as recognize man's liberty to think and speak; such as make him feel his personal responsibility to God and to his fellow man; and such as reveal to him his utter need of the remedial doctrines of the gospel.

By "*the age*" we understand English society of the present day, made up as it is of two great classes of religious and irreligious persons—those who serve God, and those who serve him not. In several points there is doubtless a great contrast between this age and ages bygone, but in this particular they are the same. Dr. Talmage may have spoken correctly concerning America in saying, a few weeks ago, that the Millenium had come. If it has reached the shores of the far West we are glad, and have a hope that it will soon visit our land; but at present we find our population in religious matters a mixed one. And even our congregations are composed of the converted and unconverted, with this difference, that the latter form the greater part. To both the gospel must be preached as a message of mercy and pardon, of peace and purity, of joy, hope, and life.

While we entertain no sympathy with the views which regard this age as being considerably worse than any preceding one, we are nevertheless compelled to confess, that there is a greater danger of souls being lost now than at any former period. We think so because of the immense excitement in which the world

lives from day to day, and because of the peculiar features of English social life. There never were perhaps so many persons in any age who speculate so much in matters of science and religion. It is emphatically a time of speculation. Multitudes are constantly giving themselves up to mere guessing concerning things secular and sacred. The time-honoured truths of our common faith are being called to the bar of human criticism, and subjected to a keen cross-examination, if perchance they may be found to clash one with the other. "Doubt is everywhere," says Bishop Wilberforce. "Sceptical suggestions are wrapped up in a narrative; they bristle in short, shallow, self-asserting essays, in which men really show their ignorance—think they show their depth; they colour our physical philosophy; they mingle themselves with our common-place theology itself."* Our Tyndalls and Huxleys having entrenched themselves behind certain discourses in physical science, have, according to their view of the matter, found something more worthy of their confidence than the teachings of the Christian religion. In their recent speculations they seem to have well nigh excluded the Creator from his works, leaving us orphans in this wide world, uncared for by Him to whom we have been wont to pray, and from whom we have been taught to expect answers to our prayers. If they be true teachers, we cannot look for any personal fellowship with God in prayer; for it is no longer what we believed it to be. He is so much unlike us, that he will not stoop to notice and hear and help us. Can such speculations—for they are no more—on such vital subjects have little or no influence upon the people of this great nation? Are they not more or less injurious? How much English scepticism is due to English speculation we are not able to say; but this we will aver, that where the latter prevails the former becomes somewhat prevalent. Personally we are not afraid of the tests to which Christian doctrines are being subjected by our modern scientists, but we are somewhat anxious lest any of our people should fall from their steadfastness in the faith. 1 Tim. vi. 20.

Another particular feature of this age is, *the great facilities for acquiring riches, and the haste with which men pursue their acquisition.* These undoubtedly are wealth-getting times. In fact it is questionable whether in any previous generation money making was ever carried to such an extent. Mr. Gladstone, in his speech at Liverpool, in which he drew a very gloomy picture of religious belief amongst us, said "that more wealth has, in this little island of ours, been accumulated since the commencement of the present century, that is, within the lifetime of many who are still among

*Faith and Freethought—The Preface pp. 5, 6.

us, than in all the preceding ages from the time, say, of Julius Cæsar." Such times as these must therefore exert no small influence upon the religious life of the land. And as ministers and wise men, we ought not to be indifferent as to how and to what extent the church is affected thereby. That wealth should be acquired, we readily admit, and honour on the man who acquires it honestly and uses it well. But where many are seeking the guidance of God in buying and selling, many more, we fear, put God out of the question. They drive their bargains irrespective of the results in a moral point of view; and we are sorry to think that there are some bearing office in the church who yield to this tide of commercial immorality. Many who forty or fifty years ago, and not a few who within a much shorter period, were zealous and laborious in the cause of Christ, have by their worldly success become paralysed and emasculated in their souls. They have more money, but less of the mind of Jesus; their social power is greater, but their spiritual influence has dwindled down almost to nothing; they have got gold, but lost grace. Having given an undue measure of their time and strength to the getting of earthly riches, they have robbed themselves of the benefits of private fellowship with God. This evil of allowing the things of this life to predominate over those of eternity is manifested in a variety of ways, but usually in conformity to the world, and an intense desire for what is called respectability. If the simplicity of a godly life is not openly ignored, it is practically disregarded. "Riches," says Mr. Allen, "have ruined many a once active, zealous Methodist. . . . . Slowly, but surely, step by step, the man falls. At first he ceases to pray in the prayer meeting, and ends by shunning it altogether. His class meeting is then neglected." * Wooley, referring to the cause of backsliding in the Methodist church, says, "But of all the temptations, no one so struck at the whole work of God as the deceitfulness of riches; a thousand melancholy proofs of which I have seen within the last fifty years. I have not known threescore rich persons, perhaps not half the number, during threescore years, who, as far as I can judge, were not less holy than they would have been had they been poor." † That Christians should seek to improve their social condition by launching out upon the troubled sea of business, we hold to be both reasonable and right; but that they should do so without being aware of the danger lying before them is hazardous to both piety and peace. If in the employment of colliers and sailors we feel it our duty to warn them of many risks they run, shall we be less careful to caution professing Christians who are daily running the world a chace in money making? The rocks must be pointed out, the currents must be described, and the social malstroms must be mi-

* "The Present Position of Wesleyan Methodism," p. 24.

† "Tyerman's Life," vol. III. p. 456.

nutely marked, so that we, as public teachers, may be without blame in the day of Christ. As ministers, we must urge our people to habits of industry in all lawful business, warning them, however, that there is danger in prosperity as well as adversity. That, indeed, which has been a temptation and a snare to saints in other days cannot be anything else in these; and so far as the world and the Church resemble each other in this particular, we apprehend a conflict will be carried on between the principles of the one and those of the other—a conflict which may not now, any more than in the past, leave the Christian a better man. If, therefore, this age of gold getting is not conducive to the higher spirituality of individual believers, it cannot be one of the safest periods for the collective piety of the Church. (1 Tim. vi. 17–19)

Another characteristic of the age consists in the fact that many persons substitute, in Christian worship, *mere formalism* for glowing love and loyalty to Christ. We do not now refer specially to that offshoot of Romanism known as Ritualism. We should thank God from our heart if we could persuade ourselves that the evil was confined to the Church of England. With little or no external ritualism many Nonconformists attach more importance, at least so far as we can judge from their manner of life, to a form of godliness than to the power. To what extent this is true we cannot say. But certainly that man must be blind who cannot see that there prevails among professedly religious people a sad and soul-sickening sentimentalism such as invariably follows the decay of Divine life. Purposes of trade, family connections, as well as the love of place in society keep many on the Church roll book long after they have wickedly departed from the living God. And we hesitate not to say that the strong, if not bitter, feeling manifested in these times against class meetings, and a plain, hard-hitting kind of preaching, as well as the loud clamour for a super-excellently educated ministry, is to some considerable extent the outcome of souls "entangled again with the yoke of bondage." The simplicity of the gospel, with many of its precepts and doctrines, is quite out of place. They are not suited to these days of religious superficiality. The demand is for something more ornate, and consequently more cumbersome. We speak advisedly in saying that the church is literally crowded with backsliders. True the hymn book and Bible have not in all cases been laid aside, nor has the sanctuary been forsaken, but God has. The pew has not been given up, but it no longer witnesses to the spiritual devotions of other and happier days. There are no altars reared, no lighted candles and crucifixes placed thereon, no priestly vestments worn by the preacher, and no Romish genuflexions performed; but there is an *inward ritualism*, which is as much to be condemned as that which is *outward*, seeing it equally ignores God. And if in the

Angelical or Pan Anglican Church the loss of faith, piety, and spiritual simplicity is usually manifested by the adoption of a gorgeous ceremonial, the loss of the same blessings is evidenced among Nonconformist churches by a dislike for those means of grace which on the one hand require self-examination, and on the other bring the soul into conscious contact with God. A light, we had almost said a frivolous, kind of preaching is found most congenial to large masses of people; while that which rouses the conscience is exceedingly unpalatable. Hence the growing displeasure at a ministry which is bold enough in denouncing a merely professional Christian life—a ministry which is too honest and too loyal to Christ ever to suffer the smiles or frowns of fawning or foaming hypocrites to deter it from declaring the whole counsel of God.

We have yet another point to notice in speaking of the characteristics of "the age." If it be true that there never was so much fictitious literature read as at the present time, and that there never were so many members of the church daily drinking at the polluted stream, there is some reason in regarding this as a speciality of the age. Weekly as well as monthly magazines studiously pander to the growing thirst for fiction, which is frequently only another name for what is false, unnatural and debasing. And as novel-reading does not minister to the higher nature, or tend to develop a noble life, we think it augers ill for the church when so many of her members greedily devour the productions of Dickens, Lytton, and other authors of less note. The writings of these men are not likely to beget a relish for works of a spiritual and devotional character; and for any Christian to try to feed his mind with this kind of food is, to say the least, a misfortune. With the conviction that the people who devote time, patience, and money in acquiring a mere moiety of truth found in the very best of romances, are in danger of losing all desire for sounder reading (but which is always safer to virtue and a pious life), we must as ministers prepare for the duties of the pulpit.

Having described what we believe to be the chief features of the age—speculation, wealth-getting, religious formalism, and a loving of fictitious literature—we shall try to specify the kind of preaching specially required to meet and check these outgoings of modern society. The two-fold character of our congregations, with other matters, make our task no easy one. The irreligious as well as the religious claim the benefit of our study, counsel, and prayers. Hence the question to be settled is not what should be the object at which we should aim; but how we may best secure the one grand purpose of our ministry—the extension of the kingdom of Christ. In our attempts to accomplish this object, *What, in the first place, should be the chief theme of our pulpit Ministrations?*

and secondly, *In what way should we, as ministers, dwell upon this theme?*

Then, as to the *Matter* of our pulpit ministrations. Believing that a higher spirituality is wanting among Christians generally—such as is revealed in a life of stronger faith, greater love, and more constant self-denial—before any great ingathering of souls can be witnessed by us, the ministry must lay special emphasis upon and give particular prominence to those doctrines which are most likely to promote it. The privileges and duties of the church must be more forcibly put before the people and more clearly defined, in order that the former may be enjoyed, and the latter discharged, not as a matter of form or necessity, but as a delight. The preaching that fails to excite the church to a life of holiness as is enjoined upon her in the word of God is sadly deficient, and must fall powerless upon the people. A barren church makes a bad world worse. In saying this we are fully aware that a question may be asked which we may find difficult to answer satisfactorily. Some may say, Have there not been great spiritual awakenings in places where there has been no religious organizations or societies? and, if so, how do you account for their origin, except on the supposition that the Holy Spirit has wrought upon the mind and heart of the ungodly *directly*, and therefore independent of the prayers and faith of believers. It may be enough for the present to say, first, that in such cases he who prayed or preached for souls was as much Christ's representative as a church of a thousand members would be: and, secondly, if there was no society to help the word, there was none to hinder or neutralize its effects. It had free course and was glorified. There were no sleeping, quarelling, backsliden people as an objection to the wicked believing it. And while this may not altogether account for the success of other days, it cannot be entirely forgotten in comparing it with what is achieved in these. For who will not say that it is more than likely that many of our revered fathers would have been as unsuccessful in certain localities as we are had they had the same difficulties to contend with as we have? The base backbiting, the downright dishonesty, and the over-reaching habits in the business life of many connected with us, are huge obstructions to the progress of our work.

Hence, the work of the ministry is, *first, to secure the entire consecration and sanctification of the Church to God and to the spread of the Gospel; and, secondly, the ingathering and conversion of the whole world.* The former is the *immediate*, the latter the *mediate*, work of the pulpit. That sinners are not being saved in such numbers as is desirable, and that the great religious awakenings and successes which characterised former times do not attend the pulpit ministrations of these days, is too patent to need proof. And, be the cause what it may, we must all admit that the results

of modern preaching are much below what they ought to be, and what God's word warrants us to believe they might be. Then why have we not greater movements among the masses, similar to those which made other times famous in the religious history of this country? The answer is, because the ministry and the church live far below their privileges. Both are sadly deficient in piety; hence there is not the power necessary to promote the work of soul-saving. There is not religion enough to carry out the Divine purposes to that extent they should be in this respect. In fact, it may be gravely doubted whether there is sufficient to preserve the Church from being intoxicated with prosperity; and whether, with our present state of grace, we could be trusted with the success of former days. Who can think of the brief, spasmodic character of modern revivals without believing that they are so simply because of the low spiritual condition of most of the members of the church? They are wrought up by questionable stimulants to a temporary effort, which is frequently followed by spiritual insensibility and inactivity. Continued exertion in the work is not sustained, because constant communion with God is not the rule of life. We are aware it has been said—and with reason, too—that if the conversion of sinners be the special aim of pulpit ministrations, the increased piety of believers will follow as a natural consequence; and that this is the true course to take in order to have a revival of God's work. But does not the history of the church show that there has never been a great and permanent revival where church members have not first been quickened in their own souls? The glorious movements both in America and Ireland, as well as others of less repute, began in the closets of a few pious souls. Methodism itself was born among a band of serious young men whose hearts God had touched. And those ingatherings of precious souls to the church we have witnessed were the result of the united prayers and strong faith of a few persons to whom the salvation of sinners became dearer than life. Scripture also teaches that the quickening of a dead world depends upon a living, prayerful, earnest church, the members of which are therein spoken of as co-workers with God. And if the command of Christ to His apostles, to go and disciple all nations, means anything, it means that they were to be in themselves the living proof of the power of the gospel they were to preach. And were the modern church—both ministers and members—as holy in heart and as fully consecrated in life to the great work as that of apostolic times, a like success would be the result. Such personal purity would insure to the pulpit the power so necessary to influence the people. We should have what Bushnell calls, "preaching with the preacher," but what is better known among Methodists as helping the preacher. A cold, critical church cannot contribute much to the efficiency or fervour

of the pulpit ministrations; while one that is all aglow with love to Christ and zeal to save souls will. A living, holy, active people, banded together in Christian fellowship, is absolutely necessary to the evangelization of the world. When Wesley went to Nottingham in 1746 he found religion very low in the society. Speaking of the cause he says, "I had long doubted what it was which hindered the work of God here. But, upon inquiry, the case was plain. So many of the society were either triflers or disorderly workers, that the blessings of God could not rest upon them; so I made short work, cutting off all such at a stroke, and leaving only a handful, who, as far as I could judge, were really in earnest to save their souls." * And may not the same cause be assigned now for the small accessions made to our numbers? If so, the pulpit ministrations specially demanded by the age are such as will help the church to become clear as the moon, bright as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.

In order to secure this desirable result special prominence must be given to the doctrine of *Christian perfection* as taught by Christ, and exemplified in the life of His apostles. For the treatment of this and other doctrines of experimental religion the pulpit ministrations of the early Methodist preachers were remarkable. As ministers of Christ, they regarded the preaching of this doctrine essential to the efficiency of the church in its efforts to spread the gospel of salvation among men. Other themes might be very inviting, especially to those who were more intellectual among them; but they preferred, as a rule, to abide in this plain path.† They were not anxious to wander among suns and stars, telling their names or measuring their size or distances; nor were they much concerned lest their hearers should get an unfavourable opinion of their capacity or culture. While as *men* they might, and perhaps did, take pleasure in the various sciences, as *ministers* of Jesus Christ their chief delight was in preaching the gospel of a free, full, and present salvation. Faith, love, joy, and peace in the Holy Ghost were themes upon which they loved to dwell. They constantly and affectionately urged the people to put on the whole armour of God, and to be filled with His fulness. Despite their many crotchets, which were, perhaps, not more or greater than ours, they were great and mighty men. Their faith was vigorous, their prayers prevalent, and their success great. We worship them not, but admire them because of their gigantic power and their glorious achievements. They did not occupy the time of the people with the

* "Tyerman's Life," vol. i. p. 518.

† The writer does not mean that they never referred to facts in physical science and the discoveries of astronomy as illustrative of the power, goodness, and goodness of God; but that they did not make such things the staple of their sermons to the exclusion of vital and soul-saving truths.

trifles of physical science or the whims of a superficial criticism. They did not expend their energies in attempting to solve the question whether it was a whale or some other great fish that swallowed Jonah, or whether Eve's apron of fig leaves ought to be regarded as typical of the robe of righteousness provided for us by Jesus Christ, or whether Aaron's garments did not prefigure the completeness of the gospel provision? We protest against such trifling, because, however much twaddle may interest certain persons in private conversation, it is neither likely to convince a sinner of his sins nor convert him from them. Neither can it promote the piety of the pious. To offer this to immortal souls is, as Wesley says, "to feed them with sweetmeats, till the genuine wine of the kingdom seems quite insipid to them." * We do not advocate the preaching of the doctrine of Christian perfection to the exclusion of all other Christian doctrine, for this would be as unwise as it is unwarranted by the example of the apostles. We cannot consistently do so, for all revealed truths form one organic whole in the economy of salvation. Nor do we think it right to so handle it and talk about it as if it were a religious hobby, and with the intention of rendering ourselves singular as preachers, and by which we may throw ourselves into striking contrast with our brethren. To preach it effectually it must be the outcome of our personal experience. "It is," says Wesley, "the grand deposition which God has lodged with the people called Methodists; and for the sake of propagating this chiefly, He appeared to have raised them up."† In a letter, written in 1766, to Mr. Merryweather, of Yarm, he refers to this subject again in the following words, "Where Christian perfection is not strongly and explicitly preached there is seldom any remarkable blessing from God, and consequently little addition to the society, and little life in the members of it. . . . Speak and spare not. Let not regard for any man induce you to betray the truth of God. Till you press believers to expect *full salvation now*, you must not look for any revival."‡ And have we not as ministers proved this testimony to be true? Where therefore the pulpit ministrations deepen the piety, fan the zeal of the church, and lead it into the Canaan of perfect love, the conversion of sinners is more common. The ministry sanctified, the church in all its parts sanctified, is our only hope for the rapid extension of the Kingdom of Christ in the world.

The position we assume in this paper, as to what we believe to be the kind of pulpit ministrations specially demanded by the age, is strengthened by what we have observed in those revivals in circuits where we have laboured. The quarterly board has given its sanction for the employment of some particular person known as a

* "Tyerman's Life," vol. ii. p. 131. † Tyerman's Life.—Vol. ii. p. 131.
‡ Tyerman's Life.—Vol. ii. p. 565.

revivalist. The arrangements are made for a series of meetings. Many weeks perhaps intervene between the arrangement and the meetings. During this time, however, every member is informed of the coming services, and affectionately requested to pray much for the good brother who has to conduct them. Even the ungodly are told of the approaching special effort, and kindly invited to come and hear the revivalist, who is spoken of in the most favourable terms. The entire church prays, labours, and lives to make his path plain and prosperous.* This being done, and done well, too, is it really any wonder that his labours should be crowned with success? or, to put it more correctly, that fruit should be gathered in at this specially prepared-for period? If any wonder at the result, we cannot; and we are far from thinking that God will reckon all the souls usually reported as having been converted at such times to one person alone. We dare not even imagine such a thing. Moreover, we have a strong impression that had the same brother or sister gone, as the circuit preachers had to go for many months before, to a people half awake to their duty both to God and man, and consequently given little to faithful prayer or earnest effort to save souls, there would have been as little, and perhaps less, to have rejoiced over. But Zion travailed, and she brought forth sons and daughters to God. God multiplied her with men as with a flock; and her converts were many. We have sometimes thought that it would be well for some of us if we could have gone to certain places in our circuits as our fathers did, finding no society rather than such as we have found. It has been a hindrance and not a help to us in our great work. The inconsistent conduct of many belonging to it has prejudiced the ungodly against our message, and hence our first duty has been to correct the former before we could possibly convert the latter. This has also led us to enquire why those persons assuming the name of revivalists are apparently more successful than the regular ministry. Are they, as a rule, holier men and women? Do they give themselves to prayer and supplication more than the travelling or local preachers? or, are they more simple, pointed, instructive, scriptural, and earnest in preaching? Or is it because they are more self-denying in their manner of life, and more laborious in family visiting? If they are, we can no longer maintain our theory; but if they are not, we must then try to find the reason of their success somewhere else. May not one source be

* We find no fault, nor do we feel any jealousy, when "revivalists" are employed by circuits to hold special services which it is impossible for the stationed ministers to attend, without neglecting their regular work. But we have a strong objection to societies attributing all the good done at such times to the persons engaged to conduct those meetings, when for weeks the church has given itself to prayer and labour for the revival of God's work.

found in the fact that when they enter upon their work, all hearts, all hands, and the sympathy of all are with them? Prayers have been offered up for them, marked by a fervency and faith such as seldom characterize those presented in behalf of the regular ministry. Prayer becomes intercession, and intercession becomes persistent and prevailing. Living thus, the Church expects great things. Into such an atmosphere the revivalist enters minus the many drawbacks usually met with at other times. He has not the horrid and distressing work of turning a fornicator or an adulterous person out of society; nor is he under the temptation of keeping such a person in either because of what he is socially or of what he does for the cause financially. Neither has he the unpleasant task of settling some petty dispute which has perhaps convulsed the society for months. He has not removed an official from his office because of disloyalty to the Connexion and insubordination to rule. The not having these things to do is all in his favour. And may not the fact that many ministers have such things to do so far account for the smallness of their success compared with what took place in former years? Without mentioning names, we have our mind on some who are said to have turned many to righteousness in their early ministry (and I thank God that they did), but under whose pulpit ministrations there is now a sad paucity of conversions. Is the change in them? Can it be accounted for on the ground of age? or are they less pious and earnest than they were? Or will not the altered character and circumstances of once zealous and prayerful societies go very far to solve the problem? Personally I would rather have no society at all than one that has lost its love to Christ and souls; for I am persuaded that I could, by the help of God, work my way to the heart of the ungodly sooner than I could through such a dead mass.

There is yet another consideration which confirms us in the view we hold respecting the kind of pulpit ministration—as far as the matter of it is concerned—specially demanded by the age; and that is, that the greater proportion of the apostolic epistles is, to speak generally, an exposition and an enforcement of Christian duty. It is therein almost always acknowledged as a principle that the increase of Christ's kingdom among men largely depends upon the piety of those who are already members of it. Our Lord also bases many of His exhortations to His disciples upon this, especially those in which He employs certain figures and metaphors illustrative of the believer's exalted and influential character:—"Ye are the salt of the earth; ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven."—Matt. v., 13—16. Let the church be brought up to this standard, and maintain this character, and as a result we shall

soon have pentecostal power and prosperity. Conversions will become gloriously common. They will be the rule and not the exception. As in early times, when the eminent holiness of those apostles and disciples, through whom the Holy Ghost gave power to the word preached, and by whom the vile systems of heathendom were upset and iniquitous nations shaken to their foundations, we should witness signs and wonders such as we have not hitherto beheld. Let, then, the salt be full of savour, the lamp full of light, and the life of the church holy and earnest, and a dying, benighted world shall feel, and see, and live. But failing as ministers to secure the former, we have no good reason to hope for the latter as the fruit of our toil.

The pulpit ministrations demanded by the age should be marked by *seriousness*. By this we don't mean a pharisaical tone of voice or a sadness of countenance; but a manner of speaking and acting befitting the position and purposes of a minister of Christ. The manner should be just as serious as the message is momentous. Puppyism and empty witticisms ill become him who has the gospel to preach and its claims to enforce. We hate to see or hear Punch in the pulpit, glibly tonguing sacred truths, and making fun for those who are as foolish as himself. And we as much dislike the attempt which is, we fear, by no means uncommon in these days, to make these truths palatable by seasoning them with the silliest nonsense and anecdotes made to fit.

They should also be marked by *earnestness*. He who ministers Christ's word should do so with the earnestness of one who must give an account, and with the conviction that his manner will either help or hinder his message. It should be a living, unselfish, and tireless earnestness; not that which is simply shallow, showy, and noisy, and consequently worthless. Vociferation is no more an evidence of our earnestness than sullen silence is of our seriousness. "When a man is really in earnest," says Dr. Parker, "he needs no label; he is a living epistle; his whole life is his commendation."* The earnestness for which we plead is one that is born of love, that never cools, but ever inflames the soul with a deathless passion to please God and save souls.

R. HARRISON.

ART. VI.—PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

PLUTARCH takes care to tell his readers, on more than one occasion, that he is not compiling history, but writing "Lives." He expressly disclaims any intention of competing in the narrative of remarkable transactions with professed historians like Thucy-

*Ad. Clerum. Ch. ii.

dides or others. His anecdotes are chosen and arranged with the view of illustrating the character and fortune of individuals, not of delineating the national and secular progress of Greece and Rome. Those actions of his heroes which have formed the staple of any permanent and well-known historical record, even if they bear especially upon the temper and personal qualities of the subject of his biography, are only cited or briefly run over for the sake of avoiding the imputation of absolute negligence. "Such things as are not commonly known, and lie scattered here and there in other men's writings, or are found amongst the old monuments and archives," are those which Plutarch professedly aims to bring together; "not collecting mere useless pieces of learning, but adducing what may make the disposition and habit of mind" of his hero understood. It is not (he says again, when justifying his method of epitomising the wonderful story of so great a king as Alexander the Great) always the most glorious exploits that "furnish us with the clearest discoveries of virture or vice in men; sometimes a matter of less moment, an expression or a jest, informs us better of their characters and inclinations than the most famous sieges, the greatest armaments, or the bloodiest battles whatsoever. Therefore as portrait-painters are more exact in the lines and features of the face, in which the character is seen, than in the other parts of the body, so I must be allowed to give my more particular attention to the marks and indications of the souls of men; and while I endeavour by these to portray their lives, may be free to leave more weighty matters and great battles to be treated of by others." Remembering that Plutarch wrote in this spirit, and that he wrote at such a distance of time from most of his heroes as left him with few means of sifting the truth out of detached statements and varying records which are not equally enjoyed by his own critics in modern times, we may assume, without scruple and without wonder, that many of his touches of personal anecdote are taken upon trust and easy terms. The requisition of a certain and cogent proof of the authenticity and accuracy of his documents, wherever such proof is possible, may be fairly demanded at the hands of a historian. But the difference of aim, involving a different method of treatment, allows a different kind, if not degree, of strictness in inquiry. It may be taken for granted, that among the multitudinous anecdotes concerning remarkable individuals which swarm into unlicensed circulation in their own age, a large proportion have undoubtedly no foundation in fact whatever. Yet among the number of unfounded falsehoods, the greater part will be found to have engendered themselves, so to speak, out of their own obvious, inherent, and characteristic probability. An ingenious, satirical, or even a purely mischievous gossipper takes little pleasure in launching an invention which its ineptitude will instantly convict of untruth. The success of a personal *canard* depends on its personal

aptness, from the first moment of its being set afloat; and this dependence is more absolute in proportion to the general notoriety of the personage to whom it endeavours to attach itself. Not being actually and demonstrably true, it must do its utmost to be undeniably *ben trovato*. The great Duke of our own days bore the brunt of many baseless anecdotes; but they were all "in a tale" with acknowledged facts and with the received theory of his character.

The modern discovery that Plutarch's Lives are not to be taken as instances of literal truth in biography, and that the ancients were after all, as has been prettily said, not mere embodied sentiments engaged in acting copy-slip maxims for the benefit of posterity, but real men and women very much like ourselves, may be used to depreciate unduly the value in which his great portrait-gallery of Greek and Roman worthies was formerly held. In attempting to lay down the general basis of the point of view from which Plutarch thought and wrote, we have wished to show the stability of the pedestal on which his fame really rests. It should be remembered that his biographies are all conceived and written, as may be said, for a moral. One particular spirit underlies them all, colouring, sometimes perhaps too strongly, the author's estimate of characters, and always influencing the selection of anecdote and detail. All of them are busied with the story of men of whom the characters, actions, or fortunes were to Plutarch's eyes visibly "not without the special help of the gods." Among all the varieties of circumstance and nature which they embrace, this is the one distinctive mark common to them all. However detestable a professed moral may be in a modern work of fiction, it is not so in such a philosophical narrative as that of Plutarch; and the fact, that a carefully composed set of statuesque groups should have been ever taken as any thing like a prosaic representation of the ordinary current of life in Greece or Rome, proves sufficiently that the moral has been officiously obtrusive. The method and degree in which characters and fortunes, when viewed in such a light and from such a point of view as Plutarch's, act reciprocally on each other, were never more skilfully protrayed, or more earnestly aimed after as the main object of a picture. An obvious congruity and coherency of the two are the chief delight of the conscientious and reverent Greek biographer; and any want of consistency in the one, creating a reaction in the other, is to him a pure cause of personal dissatisfaction. The single instances of rashness which resulted in the unnecessary death of two of his favourite commanders, Pelopidas and Marcellus, instead of being welcomed by him, as they might have been by modern cynicism, as excellent pointers of a moral or ornaments of a tale, are to Plutarch painful sources of a distasteful regret, that the end of two *such men* should not have appropriately crowned the whole of their

lives. "I cannot commend," says he, "the death of either of these great men; the suddenness and strangeness of their ends give me a feeling rather of pain and distress." A corresponding sentiment of satisfaction in the recognition of fortune following character is perceptible in his comparison of Lucullus and Cimon. He feels it hard to strike an even balance between them as men, inasmuch as "supernatural favour also appears to have attended both of them, directing the one what to do, the other what to avoid; and thus they have both of them, so to say, the vote of the gods to declare them noble and divine characters." The context shows plainly enough that the expression, "the favour of the gods," is, in Plutarch's language, by no means simply equivalent either to absolute good fortune, unvarying success, or continuous rectitude of judgment. Each of these great men failed and succeeded by turns. The one led an intemperate youth, the other a luxurious age. Each of them was a "soldier of excellent conduct," and led his army to glorious and fruitful victories; but each, "aiming to destroy great kingdoms and subdue all Asia, failed in his enterprise." The Roman, great general as he was, was so unpopular among his troops as to be deserted by them in a body; the Greek, though a successful statesman, could not always "please the vulgar" of Athens so well as to escape a sentence of ten years banishment. But after their unequal fortunes they both died, as Plutarch thinks, most happily and opportunely: the one just before the sweeping of a flood of civil troubles over the distracted Roman commonwealth; the other at the moment when his country, in the height of its power and freedom, was honourably recognising his greatest victory. And it appears to be this timely termination of their stories, this instance of being taken away from the evil to come, that most pleases Plutarch as a sign of the divine favour which crowned their not inconsiderable works on earth by a not unsatisfactory end.

Where Plutarch wishes to tell a great story effectively and pathetically, there are few writers to be named who can surpass him in that effect and pathos which arise from a completeness of imagination, a skilful arrangement of materials, and a knowledge of the true chords of human sympathy which are to be touched. We might pick out, as one instance among many, the narrative of Pompey's fall. The single weakness of Pompey's character, which made him fight his last battle upon the plain of Pharsalia, against his own better judgment, in compliance with the impatience of his injudicious friends, is pointed at as adequately commented on by the issue of the contest. The spectacle which Pompey's camp, set out as for the banquet in honour of an assured victory, presented to Cæsar's grim veterans after the rout of Pompey's army, is significantly sketched out as an illustration of

the fated folly and vanity of the men who had boasted themselves before putting on their harness as though they were putting it off. But from the moment when the adventitious greatness of station is stripped off the fallen hero, the critical tone of the biographer turns into one of solemn, grave compassion. We see the man who had in the name of Rome conquered Mithridates and the pirates, and who had been the foremost figure of the world until the greater star of Cæsar rose, leaving the slain and the wounded and the wreck of his fortunes behind him,—dismounting and walking on softly afoot with a few friends as his sole retinue,—taken up altogether, says Plutarch, with such thoughts as would naturally possess a man who for thirty-four years had been accustomed to victory, and was then at last in his old age learning the meaning of defeat and flight for the first time. There is a clear sorrowful picturesqueness in the whole tale of Pompey's embarkation on board the Roman merchant vessel that chanced to be lying off the mouth of the valley of Tempe, his meeting his young noble wife Cornelia at Mitylene, and his sail down the coasts of Asia Minor to Cyprus, gathering as he went scattered remnants of his party, and debating on the best chances of retrieving those fortunes which were not destined to be retrieved. There, either, thinks Plutarch, from apprehension of the treatment his wife might receive among the Parthians, or from the prompting "of some superior power," he again acted against his own judgment, and sailed for the fatal shores of Egypt. It is impossible not to sympathise in reading with the feeling of the biographer, that "it was indeed a miserable thing that the fate of the great Pompey" should lie in the hands of the king's eunuch, rhetoric-master, and chamberlain. We are told with a quiet and impressive symplicity of style, befitting the last scene of a tragedy, how the great Roman was murdered as he was stepping from the boat on the flat sandy shore of the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. When Pompey felt the treacherous stab from behind, and saw the other swords drawn round him, he felt, with that instinctive readiness of dignity which we cannot but believe to have been characteristic of ancient Rome (however unlike to the ordinary demeanour of modern men and women under ordinary circumstances), that all that was left was to die as became a Roman conqueror. So, "taking up his gown with both his hands, he drew it over his face, and neither saying nor doing anything unworthy of himself, only groaning a little, endured the wounds they gave him, and so ended his life in the fifty-ninth year of his age, the very next day after the day of his birth." It is clear that Plutarch takes peculiar pleasure in reciting the details of the pious offices paid with scanty means to Pompey's corpse upon the shore by his

old freedman Philip, and the appropriate vengeance taken by fate upon one after another of the miserable assassins. The eunuch and the chamberlain were put to death by Cæsar; the weak young king Ptolemy, in whose name the murder was committed, after being overthrown in battle upon the banks of the Nile, fled away, and was never heard of more. The politic Greek rhetoric-master, who had counselled the base deed as the best method of getting rid of Cæsar's rival, fled from justice, and lived "a vagabond in banishment, wandering up and down, despised and hated of all men," until, after Cæsar's end, he fell into the hands of Brutus, who put him to death with every kind of ignominy. Then, and not till then, when his pen has written down the execution of their several penalties upon Pompey's murderers, does Plutarch wind up his story with the restitution of the great Roman's ashes to his wife, for honourable sepulture among the urns of his country-house, in sight of Rome. There are fine pictures and noble thoughts, however pedantically spun out, in Lucan's Pharsalian epic; but the real grandeur and simplicity of epic conception is as much more visible in Plutarch's mode of telling the tale than in Lucan's, as it is in Mr. Tennyson's Idylls of the Court of King Arthur than in Sir E. Bulwer Lytton's poem.

Besides the fifty completed individual likenesses, and the thousands of other episodical sketches of character and story, preserved in Plutarch's volumes, and so largely interwoven by all the earlier popular authorities of our own childhood with the historical thread of the annals of Greece and Rome,—there is retailed in the Lives an infinite variety of the detail of ancient customs here and there, such as are familiar to all classical students, without their knowing from what source their information has been derived. Anybody who will take the well-repaid trouble of reading his Plutarch through again in later life will feel surprised at the recognition of so many old friends in the shape of manners and customs and at the fullness of those accessory illustrations which give so substantial a reality to the great idealised picture of the Greek and Roman world which Plutarch drew. The same facts are undoubtedly often to be found elsewhere, in the authorities from which Plutarch's own knowledge is confessedly taken, as well as in other authors whom he is not proved to have studied. But it may be doubted whether they have ever been told with superior or equal clearness, and whether their familiarity to modern ears does not spring more generally from the often-translated and widely-read Lives of Plutarch than from the pages of writers who have been mainly studied in the original tongue. It may sound paradoxical to assert, that the intrinsic worth of Plutarch is more thoroughly appreciated among us because we

know him only in translations; but it is unquestionably true. Not only would his name never have become such a household word through modern Europe, had it been the supposed duty of all classical students to struggle with his style before they could arrive at his meaning, but the breadth of familiarity, the power of taking him in all at once, which is now within the reach of every clear-headed English reader, could have been then attained by very few among the narrower circle of those who would in that case have read him. It is as necessary to read a contemporary historian in his own words as if he were a poet; but Plutarch is neither a historian nor a writer on contemporary things. He views his antique heroes entirely from without, and places them as regularly upon one broad plateau, apart from his own every-day world of Trajan's era, as does Mr. Watts in his great allegorical fresco, "The progress of Legislation." There is an obvious and irreconcilable anachronism in bringing together Moses and Confucius, and the three English barons from Runnymede, and Theodora and Justinian, in a place which is neither earth nor heaven, but something between them. From Romulus and Theseus to Philopœmen and Flamininus, there is the same—not identity of level, but—easy gradation of a receding slope, and the same distinctive separation from the costume of ordinary life and thought, observable in Plutarch's Lives when read as a whole. The material defect or improbability is cured in either case by the serene grandeur of the scheme, and the uniform nobility of the treatment. But as to study at our ease the full meaning of Mr. Watts' composition, we desire a reduced drawing or an explanatory key, which may engrave itself on our minds, without hours of staring up at the fresco itself in its lofty place in Lincoln's Inn Hall; so, for the real enjoyment of Plutarch, it is best to know him familiarly as an English author, to be able to overlook him rapidly or to dwell on him at length, without the loss of vividness which is always involved in the reading of a translation, when once you have received your earliest impressions from the original.

We said just now that it is the fullness and truth of the accessory illustration which confers the lifelike look on the idealised portraiture of thought and character which are given us in Plutarch. Take, for instance, the description of the Parthian skirmishing in the story of the fatal expedition of Crassus. It is as clear, characteristic, and picturesque as any dramatic pageant Mr. Charles Kean or Mr. Macready ever put upon the stage; more like Napier's account of the Peninsular battles which he had seen himself than like a derivative account of a campaign long before the writer's own time. And it is a description of which the visible reality will never fade; least of all during the progress of military science towards a point where the Parthian tactics of fighting flying will be more

available, if not more universal, than they have been for many centuries, in proportion to the increasing range and certainty of missile weapons. The principles of destruction, as well as the details of life and the objects of living, are governed by the same rules now as in the ages painted by Plutarch. Some of his stories show how curiously human thought revolves in particular cycles, or runs in parallel grooves. The Etruscan sages, who were thought to possess a knowledge beyond other men, affirmed in the time of Sylla that a certain prodigy betokened the mutation of the age and a general revolution of terrestrial things. Their theory supposed eight destined ages of the universe, differing from each other in the lives and the characters of men, with a divinely allotted measure of time for each. When one age had run out, some wonderful sign from earth or heaven would at once proclaim to the students of such mysteries, that a fresh race of men, with different institutions and aims, and more or less dear to the gods than their predecessors, had arisen in the world. The basis of this mythological system is clearly the same phase of thought as that which originated the golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages of Hesiod; though Hesiod's theory of degeneration carried him no further, and foresaw no chance of alternating rise and fall. There are serious and educated Englishmen in this latter half of the nineteenth century who virtually hold the same creed with the Etruscan sages; consulting and ingeniously twisting the records and dates of sacred and profane history for the identification of the spasmodic birth-throes of past ages, and sedulously looking for the appointed sign of a fresh cycle. So like are the permutations of speculative curiosity under different circumstances and different influences. Although "the knowledge of divine things" may be "for the most part lost to us by incredulity," we prefer to hold with Plutarch himself that God does not govern the world by the irresistible force of successive and sudden revolutions for better or worse, but by the persuasive argument and reason of gradual change, controlling the race of men into compliance with his eternal purposes.

Shortly before the days of Shakespeare's reading Plutarch's Lives in England, Montaigne was studying both his Lives and his other writings in France. As he supplied the genius of the poetical magician with the concentrated essence of three noble dramas, so did he furnish the discursive mind of the moralising essayist with a store of thought, maxims, and illustrations, which lasted him for his whole lifetime. The one read him, and took bodily what he wanted for the purposes of his own art; and there the influence of Plutarch upon Shakespeare, so far as we know, came to an end. The other, with no such definite or immediate purpose in studying him, read him through and through, digesting him piecemeal in his rather happily suggestive than accurately

retentive memory, and perpetually reproduced him in sparkling fragmentary apothegms, as an impressible pupil repeats and believes in the talk and the sentiments of an honoured master. Voluntarily and involuntarily, consciously and not, Montaigne overflowed with Plutarch, quoted Plutarch, and thought Plutarch, in every essay and every letter that he wrote. By the grace, interest, and variety of Montaigne's work, we may, in some degree measure the qualities of the writer whom he took as the main source of his inspiration and his model.

But Montaigne was not the only Frenchman who studied Plutarch greedily. Rousseau did so too; and after Rousseau many of the leaders of the French Revolution. It is obvious that all the spurious classicalisms of the first French Republic, all those false imitations of an ideally severe antique virtue, in which vanity attempted to mask so much unbridled and miserable folly in the earlier scenes of that singular drama, were drawn from the characters of Plutarch mainly or alone. The Lives were in some sense, as they have often been called, the Bible of the Revolution. It is difficult for any book to which destiny has ever given a biblical or authoritative character, to escape misconstruction, first at the hands of its own more fanatical expositors, and then from the outer world, which is naturally apt to confound the mischief committed in the name of a teacher with the doctrines he originally disseminated. It was wisely put into the mouth of a modern oracle, that the bearings of his own oracular observations lay in the application of them. Plutarch is not responsible for the ineptitude and wickedness of any bastard Brutus or Aristides of the Republic one and indivisible. Limited as his ideal of human virtue may be deemed to be, it was not that ideal which was sought after by those who quoted his heroes most volubly. They never tried to live up to the lights of the gospel they proclaimed. There were many lessons which they might have drawn from the pages of Plutarch, had they sincerely sought to apply the results of his teaching to their actual situation, not to force their own epoch and circumstances into an artificial and utterly absurd parallelism with the field of the pictures which Plutarch has drawn. If the English legislature were suddenly to be struck with a zeal for directly imitating Solon and Lycurgus, England would be in a state of irretrievable bankruptcy, lawlessness, and immorality before the end of the year. Yet Lycurgus and Solon, after a short education in the ways of modern life, might not be out of place in the English legislature. Most of Plutarch's heroes are marked by some exceptional hyperbole (so to speak) of individuality in character or fortune, easily to be seized upon and outwardly reproduced to exaggeration by a superficial caricaturist or imitator. Yet the most constant moral of Plutarch's writings and of Plutarch's

own life is the preaching of a contented, trustful, reverent, modest temperateness of judgment and nature, and an unambitious mediocrity of career, as the chief and soundest blessings which the Destinies could bestow on mortal man.—*National Review.*

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mark's Memoirs of Jesus Christ: A Commentary on the Gospel according to Mark. By James Morison, D.D. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1873.

For some time past we have been on the look-out for this volume, and, now that it has made its appearance, we give it a hearty welcome. When it became known a few years ago that Dr. Morison had commenced writing a commentary on the books of the New Testament, intending if his life were spared to go through the whole, *seriatim*, expectation ran high. His splendid monographs on Roman III. and IX. gave proof and pledge of what he could and would do on the broad field of scripture exposition. It is saying much, but not more than the truth, that the volume on Matthew, the first instalment of the Commentary, fully sustained public expectation; and now we have no hesitation in adding that this volume on Mark is fully equal in quality to its companion volume on Matthew. High as Dr. Morison stood as a scripture expositor before, the present volume will add to his fame. We direct attention, first of all to the Introduction, which presents a masterly summary of what may be called the literature of Mark's gospel, and affords valuable help to a right understanding not only of the general drift of this portion of the New Testament, but of its peculiar and distinctive characteristics as well. The manner of dealing with the text itself leaves nothing to be desired. The meaning of the sacred writer is unfolded so clearly and with such amplitude of illustration and multifariousness of learned authority, as to satisfy the most critical and exacting reader. Dr. Morison is not only one of the most learned and intellectual of modern Commentators, he is also and at the same time one of the most pleasing and popular. It is simply impossible for anybody to read this volume without being delighted as well as instructed. Clearly, the Dr. writes from the fulness of a happy soul, a soul not only in repose and peace with itself, but in lively sympathy with all that is bright and beautiful in the universe. The writing of this volume has, we venture to affirm, been an immense luxury to the author. The reading of it has certainly been a great enjoyment to us. It quickens thought, enlivens feeling, recreates fancy, while at the same time it pours floods of light on the sacred text. Most urgently would we persuade our young ministers and Sabbath-school teachers to acquaint themselves with Dr. Morison's Commentaries.

The Christian Journal. Toronto, June 27, 1873.

We need scarcely remind our readers that this *Journal* is the literary organ of Primitive Methodism in Canada. Two years ago our beloved friend and brother, the Rev. Wm. Rowe, became editor; but, owing to rapidly failing health, he was obliged to retire from the office, and was succeeded in it about a year since by the Rev. T. Guttery, who had shortly before arrived in Canada from England. Mr. Guttery entered upon this office at rather a critical juncture. The Union question (*i.e.* the question whether Primitive Methodism in Canada should

become organically incorporated with Wesleyan Methodism) was just then exciting much interest, and producing much uneasiness in our societies; and, in fact, every other question seemed to be swallowed in its greedy maw. A considerable sprinkling of our preachers and people were pro-unionists; party feeling ran rather high and hot, and with some of our best friends it became a question whether the integrity of our Canadian Church could be maintained. Naturally the discussion of the union question found vent in the *Journal;* and we have been more than pleased to observe that, though there has been much to tantalize, and something even to provoke, the Editor has shown the utmost impartiality, and has never in one instance, as far as we have been able to note, diverged from the strictest neutrality, treating both parties with even-handed justice, and refusing, though under strong temptation, to commit himself as a partizan. This conduct is all the more noble, as we have reason to believe Mr. Guttery is himself a decided anti-unionist. We trust the vexed and vexing question is now at rest. After an exhaustive discussion at the late Conference, it was determined by a majority of more than three to one that Primitive Methodism in Canada should maintain its present autonomy, and pursue the special work for which God summoned it into existence. We rejoice in this result, for although we would not put a straw in the way of our Canadian brethren separating from us either to enjoy absolute Church independence, or to incorporate with another Church, yet we should rather they remain one with us organically as in days by-gone, not simply from feelings of love, goodwill, and brotherhood, but because they will thereby, we believe, be more likely to glorify God and bless their fellow-men.

Unfolding the Bud; or, the Duties of Parents. By Silas Henn. Fifth Edition. London: George Lamb.

THE fifth Edition of an excellent little work, abounding with judicious advice, flavoured with many pertinent anecdotes, and written in a bright lively style. The thoughtful reading of it by parents cannot fail of much practical good.

The "Real Presence," or, the Reformation Struggle Renewed, being an Argument for Disestablishment. By LA OMER. London: G. Lamb.

A CLEVER and well-timed pamphlet, showing that the Church of England is steeped in popery, that the celebration of mass by Anglican clergymen is sanctioned by the highest ecclesiastico-civil court in the realm, that the principles of the Reformation are attacked by the men who are paid out of the public purse to defend them—and that consequently our civil and religious liberties are in danger. This is the ground for a strong and well-reasoned plea for disestablishment.

The Holy Scriptures, as printed in 1611 by King James' revisors, and as revised in 1873 by Robert Young, LL.D. In parallel columns. Edinburgh: George Adam Young and Co. 1873.

Here we have two versions of the Scriptures, printed in parallel columns; on the one hand the authorised version, and on the other a new version rendered literally, word for word, in mood and tense, just according to the original text. By comparing the two versions it is seen to what extent the authorised version varies from the literal text, in order to harmonise with the idiom of the English language. Even to unlearned readers the comparison is full of interest, and eminently suggestive. To all persons who love the manysidedness of truth, and who are anxious to avail themselves of every means to fathom the teaching of the Inspired Word, this book will have strong attractions.

THE

CHRISTIAN AMBASSADOR.

ART. I.—JOHN STUART MILL.

SINCE the issue of the AMBASSADOR for May, the great man whose name heads this paper has passed away from our midst. That he was a man of high capacity; that he did as much as any man in this century to direct philosophical inquiry and to complexion the thinking of the age; that he was the inspiring spirit of the school of speculative politicians known as philosophical Radicals, and that he lived a noble and blameless life, is admitted on all sides. We deplore his errors with profound regret; we strongly disagree with many of his opinions; we believe that some of his principles, were they carried into effect, would prove detrimental to the best interests of society; we hold that many of his positions, both in politics and philosophy, were untenable in sound reasoning; but it is past denial that he was an intellectual Titan and an honest, conscientious, and upright man. The tidings of his decease sent a shock of pain into men's hearts throughout the civilised world. Even in such remote countries as Russia and Hindostan men bowed their heads as beneath a personal calamity, and words of sorrow escaped their lips, because one and all admitted that one of the great lights of thought was extinguished. His name on all lips, his influence so wide-spread, and his writings generally if not universally known and read, it must be a matter of interest and importance to the readers of this Review to have laid before them a statement of the leading facts of his life, and the principal teachings of his numerous books. Not that this paper is intended to be biographical, inasmuch as we lack information on the details of his life; nor is it designed to be critical, for that would be presumptious, involving the profoundest questions and peculiarities of existence and knowledge. Ours is the humbler task to indicate some of the way-marks of the course Mr. Mill pursued, and point out his attitude in relation to political, economic and philosophical questions, as well as to show what manner of man he was.

Though he was born in London, May, 1806, he was of Scottish ancestry. His father, James Mill, came of the sturdy yeoman class in Scotland. Not having much worldly goods, his parents were not able to give him the advantages of a University training; but his intellectual promise attracted the notice of a local magnate, Sir John Stuart, M.P. for Kincardineshire, who generously bore the costs of his University education at Edinburgh, with a view to his entering the ministry of the Scottish Church. In grateful memory of his benefactor, he gave his eldest son the name of John Stuart. While at the University, and after he had been licensed to preach, his views on theology and philosophy were revolutionized, so that he was bound in honour to relinquish all thought of a clerical life. Preferring a literary career, he betook himself to London, the common resort of literary aspirants. Here he soon married, and with an increasing family, was driven to earn a laborious livelihood with his pen. He became editor of the *Literary Journal*, and wrote for the *Eclectic* and *Edinburgh Reviews* on morals, philosophy and education. He soon began the great work of his life, the "History of India." This history was so exhaustive in its scope and method of treatment, and displayed such mastery of the subject, that the doors of the East India House were immediately opened to him, and he obtained the office of assistant examiner of Indian correspondence. He ultimately became chief of the department, and had great control over the administration of Indian affairs; he also managed the secret correspondence of the directors. This appointment brought him considerable emoluments, and ultimately distinction and honour.

Though immersed in important public work, his love of literature was not quenched, nor even checked. He found time to write for several journals, and contributed several important articles for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He also published his "Analysis of the human mind," and "Elements of Political Economy." The younger Mill went to no school nor University. This is to be regretted, for it might have saved him from some of the errors into which he subsequently fell. The father resolved to devote himself to the education of this precocious lad. Nor could a more fitting or qualified preceptor be found, except in regard to the all-important subject of religion. James Mill had been noted among scholars at Edinburgh for his knowledge of Greek, whilst the eloquence of Dugald Stewart had captivated him and led him away through fields of philosophic research and political speculation. The education of this son was one of the great objects of his father's life; his education was private and paternal; he was hardly allowed to breathe out of the utilitarian atmosphere; "he was swathed in metaphysics, he was dieted on political economy, and instead of lisping, like Pope, in numbers, he lisped in

syllogisms." His father, before going to the India House, and notwithstanding that he was in the midst of writing his great work, used to commence his teaching before six o'clock in the morning, and dictate the lessons to be mastered during the day. The curriculum was extensive, and rigidly carried out. The paternal pedagogue found an apt and precocious scholar. He must have been an extraordinary child, for when he was little over six years his knowledge and aptness were astonishing. The wonder is that such close and prolonged application and the rigid discipline of such an exacting preceptor did not injure the health and crush the spirit of such a sensitive child. In too many cases such a severe regimen has defeated itself by inducing abnormal bodily conditions, or opening an early grave. Happily in this case the elasticity and genius of the son responded to the severe demands of the father. Until he was fourteen this system of home education was continued. He afterwards spent some time in France, where he was thrown into the society of French economists, socialists and freethinkers. At his time of life, and with a pliant and receptive nature like his, such surroundings were fraught with danger. Before leaving England he had come under the influence of the Nestor of Utilitarianism and Radicalism, Jeremy Bentham; but during his residence in France he drank deep draughts of this philosophy from Baptiste Say and others.

It was during his sojourn in France that Mr. Mill made himself master of the French language, and laid the foundation of that extensive acquaintance with French literature and politics which distinguished him in after life.

The elder Mill knowing how precarious it is to depend upon literature for a livelihood, provided for his son in the Indian office a clerkship in his own department. This was when the youth had attained seventeen years. For thirty-five years he served under the East Indian Company in the political department, which had to do with the company's dealings with native states. He was at the head of this department on the transference of the Indian Government to the Crown in 1858. It is surprising that so clear headed and liberal a man should have opposed the abolition of the monopoly and anomaly of a commercial company governing an empire like Hindostan. He drafted the celebrated petition of the Court of Directors against the transference, which was said to be one of the ablest state papers of modern times. He was invited by Lord Stanley to accept a seat in the new Indian Council; but he declined, and retired upon a suitable pension.

When only twenty-one years of age he edited one of the hardest and driest of Jeremy Bentham's works, *The Rationale of Judicial Evidence.* This ponderous work was in five volumes, and authorities say that the young editor's elaborate notes are not the least

valuable part of the work. His earlier literary productions were contributed to the *Westminster Review*, the organ of the philosophical Radicals, started by Bentham and Molesworth. His articles showed the wide range of his reading and thinking and the versatility of his genius. He wrote upon the principles of corporate and crown property, the French Revolution in relation to English reform, poetry and its varieties, education in relation to the state and the people, the poetry of Alfred de Vigny, and the career of the brilliant Armaud Carrel; these were some of the subjects which employed the pen of the young Essayist. Articles of a lighter character appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* from his pen. This newspaper in the heyday of its popularity had no more active contributor; by this means he assisted his countrymen in forming their opinions upon questions then debated and current. He was a member of two clubs in London. One was at Grotes, the banker's office, which met before business hours from half-past eight to ten. He was by many years the junior of any of the fraternity, yet he took a leading part in debating the hard and knotty subjects usually discussed. He was also a prominent member of the London Debating Club, consisting of young men who met simply for intellectual gladiatorship. The rivalry was rather in knowledge and reasoning than in what is called oratory; rhetoric and declamation were discountenanced; every subject was thoroughly sifted and conscientiously thought out. Mill was by several years the youngest man in the remarkable gathering. Not a few of these young men have since distinguished themselves in different spheres of life. When Mill summoned up his powers for an intellectual fray, it was difficult to withstand the closeness and force of his reasonings. In such spheres he shone; and in this club so great was his power that one who frequented the club says that Mill went over his opponents like a plough-share over a mouse.

He contributed an article to the *Westminster Review*, in 1828, on Whately's Logic, which had then just appeared; this paper indicated the course of his studies in logic, and foreshadowed the logical doctrines afterwards embodied in his great work. For many years his mind was mainly devoted to this study. To assist him, he collected a very large number of authorities and books on logic, which he afterwards presented to the London Library, in St. James's Park. His own work appeared in 1843, when he was thirty-seven years of age. It is on this "System of Logic" that his reputation will rest in the coming ages. It is no small praise to say that the appearance of this work marks an era in the thought of this age. One of the best evidences of the value and importance of the work is the fact, that it is a text book at our universities. Some have said that this book is the driest of the

dry; that no one would read it for amusement, hardly at all, except as a task. Certainly the subject is not inviting or interesting; but no one can study the work without seeing that the author's views are expressed with precision, and his opinions presented in a systematic form. His work is not devoted to reasoning, but to the rules and laws of reasoning; the logician is not one who merely thinks, but one who can declare the method by which he thinks. In a word, our Logician's system is the inductive one, his aim is to show that all reasoning at the bottom is inductive. No doubt but serious exception can be taken to his theory of logic, rooting itself as it does in his sensational philosophy. Whether we agree with him or not, his "Logic" is a work of marvellous power and suggestiveness. His next important work was a luminous exposition of Political Economy. It is only a common-place to say, that since Adam Smith gave the world his "Wealth of Nations," no work on this subject has exerted so great an influence. This book is no great marvel of originality: its chief characteristic is its power in applying philosophical principles to the facts of ordinary life. It has been truly said that this book, being written by a philosopher, rivalled the work of Adam Smith in grasp of principles, while it has itself had no rival, and hardly a second among more modern works, in comprehensiveness of view, and in insight into the limits of the science with reference to the doctrine of general "sociology." It ran through not less than six editions in two large volumes, before the author, in 1865, made a present of it to his countrymen, by issuing a people's edition. The only drawback in the work is in his occasional departure from known and recognized facts, and the formal enunciation of some of his favourite philosophico-radical theories and nostrums.

With these important works on his hand he continued to edit the *Westminster Review*, and frequently contributed to the newspapers and magazines of the day. Current literature found in him a constant supporter. After his retirement from the Indian Office he became united in marriage to Mrs. Taylor, the widow of a London merchant, a woman gifted with the rarest powers, all running, in their full development, in lines parallel with his own tastes and predilections. No one who has read the dedication to her memory of his essay on Liberty can forget the impassioned tribute he pays to her extraordinary qualities. We quote the closing sentence to this dedication: "Were I but capable of interpreting to the world one half the great thoughts and noble feelings which are buried in her grave, I should be the medium of a greater benefit to it than is ever likely to arise from anything that I can write, unprompted and unassisted by her all but unrivalled wisdom." She was an invalid from the time of her

second marriage. And after a lingering illness she died in the winter of 1858-9, at Avignon, making that place sacred to his heart thenceforth; and he now lies beside her in the quiet sequestered churchyard there. Mrs. Mill is the heroine of one of the most remarkable incidents in the curiosities of literature. For some years an intimacy had existed between the Taylors, the Mills and Carlyle, the Chelsea philosopher. Carlyle was at that time struggling upwards in his career; but so dark were his prospects that he purposed trying his fortunes in America, as soon as he had finished his history of the "French Revolution." He had lent the manuscript of the first volume to Mill, who gave it to Mrs. Taylor to read. As it was not returned at the time promised, the printers became loud in their demands for copy. Carlyle sent for his MS., but the reply was almost tragic, for one day, as Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle were quietly seated in their room, a cab rattled up to the door, and Mill leaped out and rushed in! Instead of saluting his friends he threw himself into a seat, and buried his face in his hands in speechless agony. Of course Carlyle anxiously inquired what was the matter. Mill could only sob out "the manuscript! the manuscript!" and then in uncontrollable excitement rushed out of the room. The author went after him and learned the terrible truth, that Mrs. Taylor had left the MS. lying on her library table, that it had somehow fallen on the floor, and the servant, thinking it was waste paper, had consumed it in lighting the fire. The state of mind of the author may be imagined but cannot be described. He had no copy, and the rough notes were of little use. However, Carlyle soon regained his self-possession and turned to comfort his friend, who went away relieved but still mortified and troubled. With amazing command of his great powers, Carlyle sat down and reproduced that weird and fascinating work on the French Revolution, which is more of a magnificent rhapsody upon the characters and events of the revolution than a history. It is sad to know that the friendship of these gifted men was soon after ruptured, owing to Carlyle's increasing dislike to Mill's advocacy of his peculiar views in social and economic questions. While Mill remained to the end a Radical philosopher, Carlyle drifted towards Conservatism, not to say Toryism.

In 1859 Mill published his famous essay on "Liberty." This work is small in bulk, but contains a mass of well digested thinking. He had pondered the subject for several years. None of his works contain finer writing. The principal thesis maintained is this, that no compulsion or restraint should be offered to any one except for protection. This principle would be perfectly sound if the world were what it ought to be, and every man had precisely the position he ought to have in relation to the general welfare. But as such a state of things is at the antipodes

of the present condition of things, the argument is out of court; it has at present, as Mr. Fitzjames Stephens says, no *locus standi*. With human nature as it is, and the painful facts before our eyes, it is little better than a mockery to say that the overwhelming mass of adult persons in England and America are so well acquainted with their own interests, and so much disposed to pursue them, that all compulsion and restraint can be laid aside; that the people having reached that state of knowing what is good will pursue it. This may do for Utopia, but it is the veriest trifling as applied to the matter of fact world in which we live. This philosophy of liberty lay at the foundation of his argument against the ballot in his essay on Parliamentary Reform. In this latter work he advocates the representation of minorities. It would almost seem that opinion is veering round to the adoption of this principle. Earl Grey, in the Lords, has begun an agitation for a Royal Commission to take evidence as to the best form to be adopted to secure the representation of minorities. The principle was introduced into Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill, though in a very clumsy form; it has been introduced by the present government into the School Board elections. Several States in America have adopted it, and it has been in successful operation for years in one of our own colonies,—the cape of Good Hope. But in no publication has this minority vote been more forcibly and clearly supported than in this work of Mr. Mill. His next work was on "Representative Government." There is a fine passage in it, upon the influence of the Hebrew Prophets over the Jewish people. In the chapter on the criterion of a good form of government, he says of the Jews, "But neither their kings nor their priests ever obtained, as in other oriental countries, the exclusive moulding of their character. Their religion, which enabled persons of genius and high religious tone to be regarded and to regard themselves as inspired from heaven, gave existence to an inestimable, precious, unorganized institution, the Order (if it may be so termed) of Prophets. Under the protection, generally, though not always effectual, of their sacred character, the Prophets were a power in the nation, often more than a match for kings and priests, and kept up in that little corner of the earth the antagonism of influences which is a nation's only real security for progress."

In 1861 he issued his work on Comte and Positivism. We are free to say that this was a masterly and skilful exposition of a difficult subject, a subject which falls to pieces before the handling of common sense. The author's presentation of the ravings of Comte does him great credit as an artist; but his adhesion to the system damaged his reputation as a philosophic writer. It is true that he did not go the whole length of Comte, for he distinctly

discarded the insane religion of Humanity elaborately provided for by the founder of the newest craze of philosophical religion. Just before he was summoned from his seclusion to public Parliamentary life, he gave to the world what, next to his work on Logic, must be considered his greatest literary production, his "Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy." The book created a furor in the metaphysical world. One of the principal causes of sensation was his vehement attack upon the positions of the late Dean Mansel. It is only in this instance that the term vehement could be applied to any portion of his writings. Generally his passion was subdued, and he submitted to reason the things which belonged to reason. In this case the philosopher fell before the partizan. In our judgment he misunderstood Mansel; but be that as it may, he makes Mansel to say that intrinsically the highest human morality must be altogether different from the morality of an Infinite Being. Mill roundly declares that he would call no being God who was not good in the same sense as he meant when he applied the term to his fellow-men; "And," he says, in these strong terms, "if such a Being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go." The excitement and controversy are long since past, but the work remains as the greatest criticism upon the Hamiltonian and Scottish philosophy. In this work he reached the highest level of his intellectual power. It seems as if the study of the writings of Sir W. Hamilton, that great thinker and scholar, had lifted him to the mountain tops, far above the sandy plains where he was accustomed to dwell, and where he was ever trying to construct a world to inhabit. He was a fit antagonist for the herculean Scotchman. Had Sir William been alive to have joined issue with Mill, to defend the positions assailed, to explain his views, and to criticise his critic, the world would have seen an encounter of giants. Their divergent views notwithstanding, these men must be considered as our two contemporary chiefs in philosophical research and systematic reasoning on the nature and methods of knowledge and the laws which regulate belief. Their methods of interpreting the world in relation to our knowledge differ as wide as the poles, yet there they stand head and shoulders above their fellows, commanding our admiration and veneration.

From the serene heights of theoretical politics, Mr. Mill was called into the exciting and noisy arena of Parliamentary strife. He was returned to Parliament as one of the members for Westminster, at the general election of 1865. During the course of the election he had to incur opposition bitter even to rancour, and misrepresentation strong even to calumny; but the battle was triumphantly won. Many people wondered how he would adapt himself to the conflicts and party contentions of parliamentary

life, and what position he would take. It is not every man, even of acknowledged attainments and ability, that can gain and retain the ear of that fastidious assembly, the House of Commons. He soon asserted his power, and though he did not empty the lobbies and clubs, and draw crowds to listen, yet his sharply-cut sentences, delivered in a quiet, nervous manner, gained for him the respectful attention of members of both sides, and that when he was advocating questions anything but popular within the walls of the House. On one occasion, at least, he rose to the height of noble eloquence, and the House rang with cheers. It was in support of Mr. Neate's motion for the systematic reduction of the national debt. In the course of his speech he said, "He would press upon the House the duty and necessity of taking that consideration for posterity, which had been strong in every nation that ever did anything great, and had never left them till the nation, as in the case of Rome under the empire, was already falling into decrepitude and ceasing to be a great nation. There might be some who would say in the old jest, 'Why should we trouble ourselves for posterity? Posterity has done nothing for us.' Was it true that posterity had done nothing for us? He maintained that whatever had been done for mankind by the idea of posterity, by a philanthropic regard for posterity, by a sense of duty to posterity, and even by the less noble but still pure feeling of ambition, to be remembered and thought well of by posterity, by the founders of nations, and by those second founders, the Reformers; by laws and institutions, which caused free countries to be free, and well-governed countries to be well-governed; by all the heroic lives that had been lived, and the deaths that had been died in defence of freedom and in defiance of tyranny, from Marathon and Salamis to Leipsic and Waterloo; by all those traditions of heroism and of virtue of which the traditions of nations were full; by all the schools and universities which had handed down to us the culture of past times, and by that culture itself; all this is amassed for us only because our ancestors have cared and taken thought for posterity."

It is not every night that eloquence so pure and noble as this is uttered within the walls of St. Stephen's. He more than once encountered that master of retort and repartee, Mr. Lowe, and deftly answered his sneers at his cleverness and philosophy; the weak place in Mill's armour in these encounters was his impulsiveness; he was too thin-skinned. We fear that instead of gaining he lost ground during his brief parliamentary career. A writer in one of the leading journals of the day has thus graphically sketched his appearance in the House: "Mr. Mill occupied a very conspicuous position among the thoroughly independent Radical representatives. He sat there very prominently on the

front bench below the gangway. Hardly ever wearing his hat, his bald head and eager countenance, flawed very glaringly on one cheek by a broad mole, or some other disfiguring congenital mark, caught the eye upon the instant in that assemblage, even when it happened to be the most densely crowded. In the expression of the face, in the very carriage of the head there was, besides the indication of intense and unfaltering observation, an air of confident self-satisfaction that to many appeared little less than exasperating. He was indefatigable in his attendance. He industriously contributed his share upon every opportunity to the debates. The volumes of "Hansard" bear evidence of this abundantly. As a speaker, Mr. Mill had great clearness of exposition, without the smallest pretensions of any kind to the gift of eloquence. His course in Parliament, while it was industrious and, even, as we have said, indefatigable, was erratic and occasionally eccentric. Advocating principles marked by the broadest Liberalism, he had an eye at the same time every now and then for some pet measure."

We cannot say that we regret his failure to obtain the seat for Westminster in 1868. His place was at the desk rather than in Parliament. Besides which, he lent his name and Parliamentary influence to men and movements not to be countenanced. This was done on his part, of course, with the highest and best intentions; but the purity and nobleness of his motives did not prevent harm being done. The immediate causes of failure were the lack of organization in his supporters, and the lavish expenditure of money by his opponents. It was during his tenure of the seat in Parliament that he was elected Lord Rector of St. Andrew's University. His address on his installation was a most memorable one. He laid out a scheme of human culture, broad in its form, distinct in its outline, and thorough in its provisions. Our only fault with it—and it is a radical fault—is, that it maintains high human excellence can be attained without religion. Man's relations to God and his religious nature are ignored altogether. This is the serious blot in all his works. His review of Grote's "Plato" showed how thorough his knowledge of this master of the ancients was. In 1868 he published a pamphlet, which has been described as "revolutionary," on "England and Ireland." The only thing revolutionary that we can find in it is the enforcement of his views on land reform as peculiarly applicable to Ireland. One of his last works was the publication of a new edition of his father's "Analysis of the Human Mind," with exhaustive comments of his own. Among the works he issued from the press, few excited more attention than his "Subjection of Woman." He may be said to have launched the best phases of "women's rights" into the current of practical politics. His speech in Parliament on the proposal for female enfranchisement was one of the best he delivered.

His sentiments on this subject were intensified by his contact with "the great loving heart, the noble soul, the clear, powerful, original and comprehensive intellect" (we quote from his own words inscribed on the tomb at Avignon) of his wife.

But we turn to other aspects of the man. He was an accomplished and ardent naturalist. In botany he was an adept from his youth; his name is borne by not a few plants as the fruits of his own research. He loved to study the sights and sounds of nature; he would not have the trees disturbed on his estate at Avignon, lest the glorious songs of the nightingales should be disturbed. Considerations of health as well as inclination made him a regular pedestrian. His was a many-sided nature, and in nothing was this seen more than in his enthusiasm for two such opposite studies as mathematics and music. He was passionately fond of music, of which he was a keen and able critic. His powers of improvising and composing were not inconsiderable. His last appearance in England was in March last, when he presided at a large meeting in Exeter Hall in connection with the "Land Tenure Reform Association." His speech, his last utterance in public, is before us; but we resist the inclination to enter into the questions it deals with, further than to say that the first plank in the platform of the Association must commend itself to the judgment of all disinterested persons—that is, that filching of the common land of the country from the public should be peremptorily stopped. About the second plank in the platform we must speak with greater guardedness, involving, as it does, the appropriation by the State of the increased revenue which growth of the national industry causes certain lands to produce without any labour or investment on the part of the owners. This is what Mr. Mill calls "the unearned increment of the land."

It is sad to notice that he went from home to die. His constitution had always been feeble, and it was only by vigilant care and habitual open-air exercise that he maintained his health. His father had died of lung disease, and he knew that one of his own lungs was seriously affected. The low-lying land of Avignon was dangerous, yet he could not leave it, as it was so associated with her whom he had almost idolised. He was seized with a pronounced form of erysipelas on Monday, 4th of May. He was watched and nursed with loving care by his step-daughter, Miss Helen Taylor. But neither love nor devotion, nor yet the prescriptions of science, could stay the fatal march of the malady. Dr. Gurney, the eminent physician who attended him, writes thus of his last hours:—

"The avenue under the shade of which he composed and studied was filled with nightingales, and so tame were they that when I paced up and down between my visits to his bedside, they followed me from tree to tree. Mr. Mill suffered but little, except in

swallowing and from the heat and weight of the enormous swelling, which, at the time I arrived from Nice, had already spread over his face and neck; and yet he learned from me the fatal nature of the attack with calmness and resignation. His expressed desire that he might not outlive his mental faculties, or suffer long from wasting disease, was gratified, for his great intellect remained clear to the last moment. His wish that his funeral might be quite quiet and simple—as, indeed, his every wish—was attended to by his loving step-daughter with devoted solicitude. The only persons beside the family present at the funeral were the French doctor, the Protestant pastor, and myself. Prayer was offered up at the grave, and a most touching address was given by the pastor. Then the beautiful tomb of his wife was opened, and he was placed at the side of her he loved so well."

It is said that he has left several works ready for the press, among which is a full autobiographical sketch of his own life. The appearance of this last work will be hailed by all who have read his works. Confessedly great and mild as a thinker, we cannot think that he has led English philosophy into the right track towards truth. If morals can be based upon utility apart from conscience; if things are not right and wrong in themselves; and if the association of ideas be the substitute for mind instead of one of its processes, then his philosophy is unassailable. But to take his teaching as the solution of the deep mysteries of duty and reason is little better than one of those freaks of credulity at which the sceptic utters his loud laugh. His theory reduces duty to an absurdity, if it does not destroy it, and most of the phenomena of mind remains untouched. No one has exposed the fatal weakness of his system with more force and clearness than that great thinker, and Mill's *quasi* disciple, Herbert Spencer. His style is studiedly unornate; he had command of the gifts and graces of poetry and rhetoric, but he scrupulously avoided their use in his works. He is acute rather than rhetorical and vehement; he is always calm, suasive, and clear; his thoughts are, as it were, embedded in crystal, with the limitations and details clearly perceived. There is great repose and judicial calmness in his style; he never writes in a hurry, never carries his readers along at "express" speed; everything has been well weighed and elaborated. This makes our surprise the greater that he is sometimes superficial and egregiously mistaken; but, however mistaken, he is never consciously untrue, nor yet one-sided. Through all his refined yet decided nature is apparent—a nature at once noble, keen, and pure, and disinterested for all self-regarding objects; and, if passionate at all, only for truth and justice, as he understood them.

We have no words at command sufficiently strong to express our

sorrow at his attitude towards that only hope for humanity, the gospel of the grace of God. What his views were on this all-important subject is not precisely known to the public, but we fear they were hostile; anyhow they were negative. He was blinded by his inherited philosophy. He was taught from his infancy to deny sin in human life; therefore a recovering and remedial system was a superfluity and an impertinence. The light of reason was sufficient to teach man all his obligations, and, if there is an immortality, the lamp in our own bosoms is of sufficient brilliance to lead us to it. This teaching of his early life was deepened by contact with men who cherished similar principles. Had he but fairly seen the truth as it is in Jesus—had he but known Christ—had his mighty intellect been used in the defence and exposition of religion—had he lived to lead men from their deep misery and degradation to Divine knowledge and purity—his character would have reached a loftier ideal, and his life been a greater beneficence than it proved. THETA.

[This article was crowded out of our August number.—ED.]

ART. II.—THE LAW OUR SCHOOLMASTER.

"Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster *to bring us* unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith."—Gal. iii. 24.

THE relationship of the law to the gospel is a matter of deep concern to all men. It concerns unregenerate men, for they can never accept the gospel rightly without first coming under the discipline of the law. And it concerns men in a state of grace, for they cannot retain their exalted privileges without respectful heed to the law, and rendering obedience to its unrepealed precept. It is as much the office of the gospel to bring us to the law, as it is of the law to bring us to the gospel. But the passage in hand deals only with one side of the relationship. If we keep mainly to that view, we must not be interpreted as being indifferent or careless about the deep obligation which believers are under to maintain purity, and even nobility, of character.

As the term "law" is liable to be understood either of the moral law by itself, or of the ceremonial, or of both conjoined, we will take liberty to leave it quite open, and include the Jewish Liturgy along with the moral law. They both bear the same name, and both have relation to the same end. The moral law as the rule of rectitude and the standard of a legal claim to reward, and the ceremonial system as a figurative forecast of the scheme

of grace, have both an important relation to the gospel. That relation is preparatory. This is the thesis to be maintained and illustrated—*the law is preparatory to the gospel.* The gospel lies on the far side of the law, or the law lies on the near side of the gospel. As you cannot get to a remoter point without in some way passing the intervening space, so you cannot get to the gospel without passing through the law. The ground may be hard and hot beneath your tender feet, but it must be travelled. Over the fiery law lies the road to the gospel. All attempts to gain the happy territory without traversing the intermediate region are worse than vain. This, then, is the central point round which our remarks will circle—the action of the law is a necessary antecedent to our realisation of peace and gospel privilege.

"The law was our *schoolmaster.*" Though this word is generally understood and acknowledged to be an imperfect translation, it does not necessarily damage the sense. It is quite in harmony with the thesis which we take as the germ of the verse. Understood in the common sense of a teaching schoolmaster, we can turn it to good use. A competent teacher is an officer of great value to the community or neighbourhood in which he plies his vocation. The raw material supplied to him from his surroundings takes shape and character in large measure from his plastic hand. His business is to form and furnish for an advanced stage of life, the pupils he receives in their incipient state. His power is certainly limited within the bounds of the capacity lying latent in the minds of his charge. He cannot create mental power where there is none, nor bestow faculty for a given line of life, where it is lacking. But he can develop and direct talent where he finds it. He can burnish the precious stone, disabuse it of the uncomely accretions adhering to it, and polish its rough surface. He can awaken the slumbering mind and tempt it forth to activity. He can mark out work to exercise it and set out its course of discipline, encourage it by judicious approval, or rebuke its errant tendencies by timely reproof. By interrogations and tasks, and repeated hearings and examinations, he succeeds in bringing to moderate efficiency even those who are of a sluggish understanding. Let him but have them soon enough, and keep them under hand long enough, he will turn them out upon society fit for useful vocations, so that the world shall be indebted to him for his pains. He does preparatory work. He wrestles with the ignorance and inertness of his pupils, corrects their rudeness, checks what is wayward, and gives scope to what is hopeful and promising. His word is mighty, and his rod, more seen than used, is not without power. By the time they abandon his desks and his discipline they are presumed to be sufficiently taught to go forward one stage further, and make choice of a business for life. Well for them it is, if the schoolmaster

have done them justice and made thorough work. They are all the better equipped for their chosen vocation. If they have not profited by tuition the disadvantage is theirs, and cleaves to them afterwards. Successful men look back on the schoolmaster with respect, if not affection. They are thankful for the results, though they felt the process painful, and often thought their tutor harsh and unreasonable. Such is the office of the law as respects the formation of a sound gospel character. We make but indifferent Christians if we enter on a profession of religion without the office of the law having been done upon us, or with but a slight touch, or superficial handling. It is only as the law has manipulated our consciences, and flashed its light into our dark minds, that we become a people prepared for the Lord Jesus. We can neither do repentance nor exercise faith if we have not got our law-lessons off by heart. So far on the vulgar notion of the word.

A more suggestive rendering is obtained by simply adopting the Greek word that stands in the original text. As this word is Anglicised, and freely used in English literature, all readers are perfectly familiar with it. "The law was our *pedagogue*." As this term is used among us for a schoolmaster, it needs to be explained according to its proper import, or it would still be identical with the received translation. It is quite a licence to call the instructors of our youth by this name. It lowers their dignity. They stand in a decidedly nobler office than that of the ancient pedagogue. He was simply a child-leader, or a leader of children, as the analysis of the word shows. He was an officer in noble families, whose work it was to take the children to school and leave them there, and to attend again at the hour of dismissal to escort them safely home. It was no part of his duty to teach them anything, not a word, or a syllable, or a letter. His work could be done if he did not know the use of a book, or the difference between one letter and another. It is better to suppose him ignorant of literature and void of science. If he knows the road between home and school, he knows sufficient. Being no teacher, but just as the French Testament calls him, a "*conducteur*," the knowledge of the road was all he required. If he had any knowledge to impart, it would be quite gratuitous of him to dispense it, as he took his charge to a teacher properly certificated and able. Besides taking the children to, and leading them from, school, he had a degree of superintendence over them during their hours of absence. Their liberty was under the check of his eye, and their movements were regulated by his voice. His very presence was a restraint on their buoyancy. It would be no wonder if he were regarded as an object of dread and dislike. Such an officer is a fair picture of a dispensation of law which deals in commands and prohibitions and threatenings, and penalties, and promises, too, for exact and full

obedience. The functions of law are distasteful to unsanctified man, who is "born like a wild ass's colt," impatient of bit or bridle. This conductor at the school hour, with his charge about him, one in each hand and the rest walking near, makes his way to the school door, opens, and ushers them into the presence of their teacher. This the law does for you and me. It cannot do for us all we need to have done. It can only take us to school, and even so much it does in rather ungracious style. It is only a preparer. Because it cannot pardon us, or purify us, or persuade us to godly behaviour, we must not conclude it a useless annoyance. It prepares the children of guilt and sorrow for a loving Saviour, who soothes their consciences and gives them new commandments, with power to obey them, and so forms them to heavenly manners and lofty aims. This second representation of the case makes Christ to be our Teacher, an idea which is excepted to by some as foreign, if not antagonist to, the true import of the passage. We are willing for the reader to form his own conclusion. We think either representation shows the relationship between law and gospel. We will therefore avail ourselves of either, at convenience, in our further remarks. The law answers the notion of Schoolmaster or Pedagogue,

As a preparatory dispensation. The truth concerning the way of salvation has been opened up to the world and the church gradually. The fullest revelation was reserved for the age we live in. More elementary truth fell to the share of those who lived in earlier times. As with the individual, so with the race, there is a childhood and a manhood. A necessity in the nature of things prevented the earlier generations of mankind from having the matured system of truth that we have. In those days when there were "giants in the earth," the world was in its infancy. By an allowed and time-honoured sanction we speak of those who lived in the young days of time as constituting "the old world." It is nevertheless understood that the world was young then. It was treated as a child, and taught in rude style. There being very little history to make material for instruction, the diagram and black-board and picture-frame were in greater request for that reason. Things to come were sketched in broad outline and dim shadows. Immediately after the fall man was taught the alphabet of redemption, in the simple yet mysterious announcement, that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head. As the alphabet contains all the elements to fill a ponderous book, so that significant utterance was the embryo of the whole volume of grace. Bloody sacrifice began to be practised soon after. The patriarchs kept up a religious butchery of animals, which Moses improved on, and organized into a system by adding significant points of detail. *In its* ruder and more intricate styles, sacrifice maintained its

ground, and covered the entire space from the fall to the incarnation. Prophecy, which began at least as early as the time of Jacob, kept pace with it, and ran on like a parallel line till within a few centuries of the Redeemer's birth. And moreover, what was of great importance, the depositories of sacred things had committed to them a grand compend of moral law in the Ten Words given to them at Sinai, cut into hard stone to retain the impression and defy the tooth of time. Such a combination of things was useful. The moral code in its holy challenges on them for purity of conduct, and in its fearful sanctions, would reveal their guilt and liability to penalty; and the ceremonial institute would indicate the merciful provision made for pardon. It appears they had both law and gospel. As respects mankind, the gospel is almost as old as the law. If we date the law from the time of its formal communication, the gospel is the older of the two. So the eighth verse of this chapter decides. "And the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed." Upwards of four centuries intervened between God's covenant with Abraham and the awful demonstration made on Sinai. So the seventeenth verse of this chapter affirms. "And this I say, that the covenant that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul that it should make the promise of none effect." But there was a law before its formal announcement. Adam was under it in the way of covenant till he violated its conditions, when he was mercifully released from its penalty, and came under a gospel economy. So, then, law and gospel have been long contemporary. Yet each has had its time when it prevailed, and stood forth in greater prominence than the other. So the law-dispensation stood in the front till Christ came. Since then the economy is changed to gospel, which is the superior dispensation.

It is a question of some interest to our thesis, why, the gospel being so excellent a system, it was not pushed into prominence and operation much sooner? Why not shorten the reign of the law, and bring in the system of grace earlier? Might not one half the time have been saved? The dispensation we are under being more glorious, would it not have been a boon to mankind to have had it ushered in by many a century earlier? We might even ask, why not the gospel start from the very first? We answer, there was gospel from the very beginning, but the matured system or economy of the gospel could not come in till the way was made for it by miracle, and prophecy, and significant ceremony. And the necessity of it required to be felt before it could be appreciated. A vigorous law must be in operation first to make a gracious gospel welcome. There was as much of the gospel taught under the law

as was consistent with the law of progress and process that belongs to mankind as a whole. The pupil took lessons in slowly. It was to no purpose hurrying on to the higher branches till the more elementary lessons had been well understood. Those who wish to read must learn the alphabet. To be skilled in arithmetic, the signs, and figures, and tables must be learnt well, and the elementary rules mastered. The Mosaic system lingered in order to teach the world well the vileness of sin, the power of depravity, and the hopelessness of self-deliverance. By this delay, time was afforded for predictions to be uttered long anterior to fulfilment, so that when verified, a convincing strength of evidence might be available to assist faith, and take all excuse out of the mouth of unbelief. The gospel age could not have been precipitated without sacrificing the strength, and symmetry, and noble proportions which the system bears. No time was lost; not a century, not a decade, not a single year, nor even a day. As soon as his work was done, the schoolmaster gave up his charge. Instead of Moses with his strong law, and his gorgeous ritual, full of significant pictures and symbols, Jesus came full of grace and truth. Again the law answers the notion of a pedagogue,

As a means of personal conviction. Without a rule or standard nothing could be tried. How is a piece of mason-work concluded to be straight and even? Not by a glance of the eye. If plumb-line, straightedge, or square be applied to it, the smallest deviations and irregularities become manifest. In the absence of the testing instrument the wall appears passable; but when tried, its defects come into notice, and the wall is condemned. Thus the law applied to the sinful actions, and to the spirit and temper of the natural man, discovers him to be a piece of bad workmanship. He is a condemned wall, redundant at one point, defective at another, and full of irregularities. The writer of this text gives in another epistle a most felicitous illustration of the action of the law upon an awakened sinner. He describes it by making himself the example. The law gave him the measure of his guilt, and taught him the strength of his evil passions, and by consequence his moral weakness. "I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin was dead. For I was alive without the law once, but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died." Rom. vii. 7-9. As a candle taken into a filthy dark room makes a disclosure of its disorder, so the law discovers to a man the evil abominations of his heart, till he is filled with loathing and dread. Its proper effect is to make him condemn himself, and to waken in him fear, and foreboding, and guilty shame. It is good for men to be acted on in this manner,

and to feel that there is no soundness in them, provided they take the next step, that is, to go to Christ. Some, when so handled, frustrate the grace of God by seeking false methods of healing. To allay the smart of their consciences they have recourse to amusement and recreation, or to evil reasonings, and so fall into a fatal quietude, or grow bold in sin again. Conviction is painful and displeasing to the mind. But it borders on peace. It is the necessary precursor of pardon, and hope, and love to God, and a spirit of adoption. As in respect of dispensation the law had the start of the gospel, so in personal experience, the law takes the initiative and leads on to Christ, in whom we have life and rest and liberty. The order cannot be dispensed with. There can be no forgiving love where there have been no compunctious exercises. The pedagogue must make us unhappy by destroying our self-conceit and legal hopes before we can accept Christ as our Saviour.

The law is preparatory. If its salutary action on the heart be evaded and shunned, the effect will be to bar out all the blessings of grace. We must be disciples of John the Baptist before we become Christians. The law-work is not of the same type and character in all persons. Diversity of temperament, and age and sex, and outward habit, all affect the case. But allowing for differences arising from these and other causes, conviction of more or less intensity must, and will, precede gospel peace. Wind, and fire, and earthquake, are all wanted with some to open the way for the still small voice. Those who get off with less than others still have inward shakings and exercises before they feel they stand on firm ground. It is unreasonable to expect the spirit of adoption except in the rear of the spirit of bondage. The enlargement and confidence developed in the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, are to be expected after the conflict, and groans, and self-loathing pictured in the seventh chapter of the same epistle. Unreasonable sinners would be cured of their sore disease without once feeling the probe, or taking a single draught of bitter medicine. It cannot be. Royalty itself can have no such privilege.

We must not allow the personification in this verse to damage the moral law in our esteem. As a transcript of the moral nature of the Deity it challenges our profoundest respect. It is only in the way of figure, and on account of the lapsed condition of mankind, that it holds the subordinate position here assigned to it. In rectitude and excellence it is as God, being the very expression of his holy character. It is simply in rhetoric that it is represented as an underling doing menial service. Its incapacity to deal with us to a happy issue, arises from our disabilities, and not from anything amiss in itself. The same writer makes this clear in another place. "For what the law could not do, in that *it was*

weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit." Rom. viii. 3, 4. The law cannot save us just because we cannot meet its claims. It is our mistake to deal with it for such purpose. The best it can do for us is to convict us and cut off our legal hopes. When this is achieved, there is only another thing it can do, namely, condemn us at last if we persevere in holding to it. Blind nature often makes this blunder. It turns to that injured law as if it would make reparation for past offences, which it cannot do, and need not attempt, as the law has its honour sustained from another source.

"That we might be *justified* by faith." It has always been a deep problem difficult of solution how to acquit, not from blame, but from punishment, an acknowledged violator of an equitable law. The voice of enquiry has been heard down through the ages, anxiously asking how the breach between man and his Maker can be healed. "How then can man be justified with God? or how can he be clean that is born of a woman?" Job xxv. 4. The burden of guilt has sat like an incubus on the human conscience with a crushing oppressiveness. Vain have been the shifts and expedients resorted to, to lighten or throw off the load. Austerities, ceremonies, vigils, tears, and sacrifices, have been all unavailing. No clear answer was given to the question till the "hour" of atonement came. The cross of Christ is the key to the deep enigma. Now the veil is rent, the mystery hid from ages is made known and published for the comfort of a sinful world. Before the veil was torn down many were in the secret. To numbers it was given to see through the veil, and to discern a bleeding Saviour. Redemption is no secret now. The gospel gives the solution to the problem which agitates the guilty breast. It declares unto man the divine "uprightness," and shows that our offended Sovereign can "be just and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus."

Now we can be justified, or say we can be pardoned, and the Lord can be justified and honoured in our pardon. Our being brought into gracious condition is called forgiveness, remission of sin, or some similar name, more frequently than it is named justification. Hence we may understand that it is an act of mercy by which we are shielded from a penalty due. But it is called justification sufficiently often to impress us with the conviction and satisfaction that mercy has not been stretched unwarrantably to reach us, or so as to cloud the honour of justice. We will enrich this page by a few passages bearing the terms to which we have made allusion. "If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord *who shall* stand? But there is forgiveness with thee that thou

mayest be feared." Ps. cxxx. 3, 4. "Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? he retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy." Mic. vii. 18. "For he will abundantly pardon." Isa. lv. 7. "And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name, among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." Luke xxiv. 47. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace." Eph. i. 7. "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." Rom. iii. 28. "Therefore being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." Rom. v. 1. Sometimes the forensic term is used, and at other times a word drawn from the vocabulary of grace. Occasionally they are intermixed in the same passage, proving that they refer to the same gracious act. "Be it known unto you therefore men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the *forgiveness of sins;* and by him all that believe are *justified* from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses." Acts xiii. 38, 39. Our union with God rests upon a pardon, but that pardon rests upon compensation so full and costly as gives it all the firmness of law and the strength of justice. It is no precarious thread by which we have hold on the divine favour, but a compact as firm as the foundation of the throne in heaven. We are *justified*, but it is in the way of grace. We are *pardoned*, but it is in the way of justice.

"That we might be justified by *faith*." And what is there about faith that it should recommend us any more than works, which are pronounced incompetent to justify us? Nothing. We are not justified by it for any worth or goodness there is in it, as if it entitled us to, or rendered us deserving of, justification. The Lawgiver justifies us on the prompting of His own compassion, through the mediation of His Son, making His pardoning favour a "free gift." "Being justified freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." Rom. iii. 24. It is God that justifieth. It is Christ that died. We are "justified by His blood." Yet it is said that we are justified by faith; his blood being the meritorious medium, and faith the instrumental cause of our justification. Such is the language of systematic and speculative theology which we freely accept. But the love that moves the Deity to receive a sinner is anterior both to the atonement which is believed in, and to the faith which takes hold of the atonement. It is earlier than both, and is originated by neither. Incompetent as we are to fathom the ways and works of God, we should treat such matters with reverence, and accept an order that has the seal of Divine appointment. Whilst we do so

we still hold to the idea that there existed a deep necessity in the case, and that there is a gracious propriety in the benefit coming to us on so simple and easy a condition, which is naturally associated with grace. "It is of faith that it might be by grace.' Faith gives nothing, but receives all. It is just a receiver, an open hand, as it is often figured, by which the blessing is grasped and retained. This shuts out all boast and all idea of a deserving virtue. The receiver of alms, who holds out an open palm to take the offered coin, cannot think that he earns what comes to him simply because he opens his hand so well, and closes it so firmly on what is put into it.

There is another view to be taken of faith. As it is said to take something offered, so it is said to commit something to some one. This notion is very appropriate to the act of confidence by which we repose our hope and our souls on Christ. We subjoin two passages for illustration. "Commit thy ways unto the Lord; trust also in Him; and He shall bring it to pass." Ps. xxxvii. 5. "For I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day." 2 Tim. i. 12. Thus, when wearied with sin, and tired out with our fruitless efforts to keep the law, we come to Christ, and we find rest in Him. In vain we turn repeatedly to the law for peace. It cannot yield it any more than the dark pedagogue can teach the child he is taking to school. It can lead us to the door, full of fear and trembling, where a kindly voice breaks on our ears inviting us forward. "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls." Matt. xi. 28, 29. Then we step within, and commit ourselves to the gentle Teacher who instructs us and makes us the children of God, and heirs together with Him.

T. G.

Art. III.—SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON'S PHILOSOPHY.

SCOTLAND has long occupied an enviable position in the philosophy of mind. Metaphysics, or mental science, properly so called, has been cultivated by her hardy sons with marked success. It would, perhaps, be saying too much to award her undisputed pre-eminence in physchological enquiries and results; yet, in one particular phasis of pure metaphysics, she stands upon the loftiest eminence—the science of mind from the standpoint of common sense and intuition. Viewed in relation to general culture and national development, Scotland stands abreast of England, Ireland,

America, France and Germany. To England may be given the palm for science, after the inductive method. Here are illustrious disciples of more illustrious masters. From the immortal Newton and Bacon, we have in England a long list of honoured names. The Herschells, Faraday, Brougham, Lyell, Brewster, Whewell, Tyndall, and others, have rendered England famous among the nations which cultivate science. In experiment, discovery, and inductive classification, English philosophers are fully abreast of all others. To the above names, those of Darwin, Thompson, and Huxley may be added. As a living philosopher, and disciple of the famous masters of the inductive method, we may add the honoured Dr. Carpenter. But England cannot boast of many great metaphysicians. Since the death of John Locke, England has never produced a thinker able to create an epoch and a school of mental philosophy. France can boast of her Cousin, Descartes, and Malebranche, with some others of deserved fame. Germany has had her Spinosa, Schelling, Hegel, Kant, and Fichte. We, however, perfectly agree with the trenchant criticisms of Dr. Wardlaw, * on most of the German systems of philosophy. The metaphysics of Germany are, for the most part, untrue to philosophy, nature, and Christianity. They are refined to evanescence itself. They are weird, insubstantial, and cloudy in the extreme. It is almost impossible for thousands to understand in any appreciable degree the relations and differences of these various schools of thought. In some respects they differ as widely as the poles of the universe, the whole diameter of thought stretching between one and another. In other instances, different systems of higher thought and philosophy touch each other, and almost mingle their lights and shades together. Certainly, like the different hues of the rainbow, their various phenomena shade off into each other, till it is almost impossible to say which is which. Here, under one banner also, may be found infidel and Christian, or saint and debauchee. In philosophy, Locke, in England, was followed by Condillac, Helvetius, d'Holbach, and others, in France; who, carrying out the empiricism of the English thinkers to its legitimate as well as illegitimate logical consequences, developed Materialism, Fatalism, and Atheism, and even *moral* Sensualism. Bishop Berkley, of Cloyne, in Ireland, applied the principles of Hume, the Scottish metaphysical infidel, to the outer world; and the arms which Hume boasted had vanquished the existence of a spiritual universe and God, were in turn made to explode all our knowledge of an actual, tangible, physical universe outside ourselves.

Here we would pause to remark that we think the Christian Bishop has been misconceived. We take his idealistic system to be a bitter and scathing satire upon Hume's system. As Hume

* "Systematic Theology," vol. I. pp. 161-199.

attempted to get rid of spirit, so, in jest, we surmise, Berkeley showed he could get rid of matter quite as easily; and, by that means indirectly turned Hume's arguments and arms against himself. Spinosa, the Jewish Atheist of Germany—for Pantheism is only another form of Atheism, all-God being equal to no-God—and Malebranche, the Popish Jesuit Priest in France, were, in philosophy, very much akin. The former saw God in the universe, the latter saw the universe in God. As far as we have been able to understand Kant, and other German thinkers, we find some things common to them all, though each has his specific peculiarity of metaphysic.

Perhaps the common sense and practical character of the English have prevented the growth of metaphysics among them. In the higher planes of mental philosophy, England does not move. But Scotland—while abreast with England in inductive science—has cultivated the higher philosophy with zeal and success. Scotland has also taken an equally honourable position in Theology of all kinds. In mental philosophy, Scotland boasts of the Mills, Hutchinson, Reid, Brown, Stewart, Ferrier, Fraser, and Bain. It is certain that some of the above, not to mention a host of lesser lights, have won an imperishable lustre and fame for Scotland.

But we think, without depreciating any of these, the name of Sir W. Hamilton has glorified Scottish metaphysical philosophy more than any other. He is the brightest and rarest gem in her jewelled coronet. A sketch of his life and character having appeared in these pages before,* we shall restrict the present article to an epitome of his philosophical system. In doing this, we shall say nothing of his system of "Logic." It is Sir William's "Metaphysics" we review. We would also guard our readers against any idea that we are going to discuss and criticise his philosophy. We can scarcely claim to be expositors, much less critics, of his system, our purpose being to give a plain account of this great philosopher's doctrines; our work is not discussion, but disclosure. We found our statements on the edition edited by Veitch and Mansel.

The absolute utility of philosophy is first discussed by Hamilton. In a volume of discussions published by Sir William he also vindicates the utility of philosophical—more strictly *metaphysical*—studies. To that volume we refer the reader. The use of metaphysics is twofold in its absoluteness—objective and subjective. The subjective use of metaphysics is first explained and insisted on. Utility is absolute and relative: absolute in so far as conducive to the mental improvement of the cultivator; relative, as its study favours the prosecution of other branches of study. The

* Vol. VIII., p. 289., *et seq.*

absolute utility of philosophy is *subjective* by developing and strengthening the mental powers; and *objective*, by furnishing the mind with a certain complement of truths or objective knowledge. It is erroneous to make the cultivation of mind subordinate to the attainment of knowledge; for knowledge and mental cultivation are not identical; knowledge is principally valuable as a means of cultivation; and mental culture more directly results from the study of mind. Possession of truth is unequal, in value and pleasure, to the pursuit of truth; consequently those inquiries are most useful which exercise most vigorously the intellectual powers; and metaphysical science is pre-eminently calculated to produce that effect.

In respect to the *objective* utility of metaphysical studies we are taught that some things are not valuable on their own account, but as means to other ends; this value is properly called *utility*, because it is relative. There are only two kinds of good for man: perfection and happiness. Perfection is the full and harmonious development of our faculties, corporeal and mental, intellectual and moral; happiness is the complement of all the pleasures of which we are susceptible. Nothing on earth is great but man, nothing in man is great but mind. The Deity is not an object immediately known to us, but is known through His works; yet the external universe, of itself, is not sufficient to establish faith in Him of the highest degree. Nor is belief in an Almighty First Cause faith in God; there must be intelligence and virtue in our conception of God. Virtue also involves liberty. The proof of these two propositions is the proof of a God, viz., 1st, that intelligence stands first in the absolute order of existence; in other words, that *final* preceded *efficient* causes; and 2nd, that the universe is governed by moral laws. The study of philosophy or mental science operates in three ways to establish that assurance of human liberty which is necessary for a rational belief in our own moral nature, a moral world, and a moral Ruler of that world. *First.* An attentive consideration of the phenomena of mind is requisite in order to a luminous and distinct apprehension of liberty as a fact or datum of intelligence. *Second.* A profound philosophy is necessary to obviate the difficulties which meet us when we attempt to explain the possibility of this fact, and to prove that the datum of liberty is not a mere illusion. *Third.* It is necessary to counterbalance and correct the influence of the study of matter; and this utility of metaphysics rises in proportion to the greater attention which the natural sciences engross.

An exclusive devotion to physical pursuits exerts an evil influence in two ways. *First*, it diverts from notice the phenomena of moral liberty, which are revealed to us in the recesses of the human mind alone, &c. *Second*, by exhibiting merely the phenomena of

matter and extension, it habituates us only to the contemplation of an order of things in which all is determined by the laws of a blind and mechanical necessity. In proof of these positions Sir William cites splendid passages from Plato, Kant, and Jacobi.

As to the nature and comprehension of philosophy: defined etymologically, philosophy is love of wisdom—the wooing and winning of wisdom. The thing intended by philosophy thus defined has different definitions, *e.g.*, the science of things divine and human, and of the causes in which they are contained; the science of effects by their causes; the science of sufficient reasons; the science of things possible, inasmuch as they are possible; the science of things evidently deduced from first principles; the science of truths, sensible and abstract; the application of reason to its legitimate objects; the science of the relation of all knowledge to the necessary ends of human reason; the science of the original form of the *ego* or mental self; the science of science; the science of the absolute; the science of the absolute indifference of the ideal and the real, or the identity of identity and non-identity, &c., &c. *Empirical* knowledge is knowledge from history and observation and experience. Historical or empirical knowledge is the knowledge that *something is*—the knowledge of facts.

Philosophical knowledge is knowing *why* a thing is, and *how* it is. In its widest acceptation, it is the knowledge of effects in their causes; and as every known cause, short of the infinite, is also an effect, philosophy traces the series toward that absolute and infinite cause which is not an effect. As such cause can never be reached by human faculties alone, philosophy never finds a goal; its motto is always *excelsior*. Philosophy necessitates belief in one great first or ultimate cause—the Creator. Resolving all phenomena of matter and mind into fewer principles, it converges to ONE great and glorious uncaused Cause, who must be the only intelligent personal good. Albeit, philosophy gives no immediate knowledge of Him, but imparts vast stores of knowledge about Him. The *first* grand business of philosophy is to investigate and determine the conditions of mind: the *second* is to make mind itself a paramount object of consideration. The study of mind is thus philosophical study by pre-eminence. Of this there are many branches: logic, ethics, politics, the fine arts, theology, &c.

The causes of philosophy lie in the original elements of our constitution. We are created with the faculty of knowledge; and, consequently, the tendency to exert it. Man philosophises as he lives. The essential and necessary causes of philosophy are contained in man's very capacity for knowledge, and also in certain feelings with which he is endowed; these are complementary to each other. An intellectual necessity compels us to connect causes with effects; and to carry up our knowledge into unity. "Happy

he who is able of things to know the cause."—(*Virgil.*) In the history of philosophy the love of, or impulse to, unity of thought has been verified or exemplified a thousand times. But the *duality* of consciousness (me and not me) has been too much ignored. Complementary and assistant to this duality of thought are feelings of *surprise, astonishment, admiration, wonder, curiosity.* These are powerful auxiliaries. Wonder has been contemptuously called the daughter of ignorance. True; but she is also the mother of knowledge.

The dispositions with which philosophy ought to be studied were well set forth by Sir William. *First.*—All prejudices—that is, all opinions formed on irrational grounds—ought to be renounced. A renunciation of opinions formed without a previous examination of their grounds is imperative. In this Christianity and philosophy are one:—"Except ye . . . become as little children ye shall not enter into the kingdom." The influence of society in the formation of our opinions is far greater than we suspect. "Custom is the Queen of the world."—(Pindar). Woe to the revolutionist who is not himself a creature of the revolution! "An ounce of custom outweighs a ton of reason.—(Hommel). *Second.*—The passions—including sloth—ought to be subjugated. These ruffle the tranquility of the mind, and consequently deprive it of the power of carefully considering all that the solution of a question requires. Pride is a powerful impediment to progress in knowledge. Under its influence men seek honour, not truth.

We must now say something of the method of philosophy as expounded by Sir William. All method is a rational progress towards an end. The ends—the final causes of philosophy are two: —*First,* the discovery of efficient causes; *secondly,* the generalization of our knowledge into unity; two ends, however, which fall together into one, inasmuch as the higher we proceed in the discovery of causes, we necessarily approximate more and more to unity. But philosophy has but *one method.* This may be shown in relation to the first end of philosophy. But this one method has been violated in the history of philosophy by philosophers taking too narrow ground, *i.e.,* being restricted in some cases to *analysis,* in others to *synthesis.* Analysis is the separation of things, resolving them into primary elements and principles that we may comprehend them. It is a fundamental law in philosophy; but, not the exclusive one: it must be connected with synthesis which is a re-construction in order to generalization. These two relative procedures constitute a single method in philosophy, and are necesary to each other. In order to the *second* great end of philosophy there is only this one possible method. To get a unity of knowledge respecting a tree, analysis and synthesis are both requisite. One is insufficient without the other. We arrive at a

general law by *induction.* Induction is analytic or synthetic according to the standpoint we assume. The history of philosophy shows this the only possible method. Thales and the Ionic school only analysed, concluding that water was the source of all things. Of this school, Anaximander of Miletus thought it was some ethereal principle. Anaximenes condenses—as he thought—all existences into air. Anaxagoras rose to the conception of a Supreme Intelligence; for this his countrymen called him an Atheist. Pythagoras, the founder of the Italic school, analysed the properties of number; and the relations this analysis revealed he elevated into principles of the mental and material universe. Thus, these earlier philosophers, taking external nature for their point of departure, proceeded by an imperfect analysis, and a presumptuous synthesis, to the construction of exclusive systems—in which idealism, or materialism preponderated, according to the kind of data on which they proceeded. The Eleatic school, divided into physical and metaphysical speculation, exhibits the same character, the same point of departure, the same tendency, and the same errors. Hence arose the scepticism of the Sophists. Socrates assailed them, and by taking a new point of departure, viz., the study of Mind, determined a new epoch in philosophy. Plato and Aristotle carried these analyses further. Plato's disciples, led by the love of generalization, regarded as an intellectual *whole* those portions of intelligence which their master had acutely analysed. The school of Alexandria aimed at union between Aristotle, who was materialistic and sensual, and Plato, who was ideal. Proclus synthesises. The scholastics analysed. The revival of philosophy was analysis. Bacon and Descartes showed the errors of preceding schools had been in hurrying to synthesis by a too limited analysis. There is but *one* true method—a combination of analysis and synthesis; and the purity and equilibrium of these two elements constitute its perfection.

Divisions in philosophy are considered necessary, but they have been multiplied and contradictory. The first main division has been *theoretical and practical.* The former *scimus ut sciamus*—we know that we know—know for the sake of knowing. The latter *scimus ut operemur*—we know that we may work—we know for the sake of acting. This division is unsound, for two reasons. *First*, because philosophy is purely cognitive, theoretical. *Second*, all philosophy is practical. Speculation, not being a negation of thought, but the highest energy of intellect, is pre-eminently practical; for in none is mere knowledge the highest end. Here is the difference of art and science. *Practikos*—practical—denoted that action which terminated in action; *poisekos*, that action resulted in some permanent product. For example, dancing and music are practical, as leaving no work after their performance; whereas

painting and statuary are productive, as leaving some product over and above their energy. Aristotle defines art as a habit productive: thus ethics, politics, &c., are only practical; rehetoric and logic productive; the former sciences, the latter arts. This division of theoretical and practical in philosophy, with various subdivisions, has been adopted by Aristotle, Bacon, Descartes, Gassendi, Locke, Kant, Fichte, and others. Universal division: metaphysics, or the philosophy of mind, is *threefold.*—1. Phenomena in general. 2. Laws. 3. Inferences—results. The whole of philosophy is an answer to these three questions: 1st, What are the facts or phenomena to be observed? 2nd, What are the laws which regulate these facts, or under which these phenomena result? 3rd, What are the real results, not immediately manifested, which these facts or phenomina warrant us in drawing? As related to the mind only, this is named phenomenal psychology. The *necessary* and *universal* laws, by which our faculties are governed, are the science of nomological psychology. Here are three great classes or subdivisions of mental power, according to phenomenological division: 1. The cognitive faculties, or faculties of knowledge. 2. Feelings, or the phenomena of pleasure and pain. 3. Conative powers, or phenomena of will and desire. Thus, then, mind, or consciousness, affords —I. Facts—phenomenology, empirical psychology: 1. cognitions; 2. feelings; 3. conative powers (will and desire). II. Laws—nomology, rational psychology: 1. cognitions—logic; 2. feelings—æsthetic; 3. conative powers—moral philosophy, political philosophy. III. Results—ontology, inferential psychology: 1. Being of God; 2. being of the universe; 3. immortality of the soul, &c.

Psychology is defined the phenomenology of mind; the philosophy of the human mind. It is the science conversant about the phenomena, or modifications, or states of the mind, or conscious subject, soul, spirit, self, or *ego.* Sir William says: "Without restricting myself to the following order, I shall consider the word psychology; the correlative terms subject and substance, phenomenon, modification, state, &c., and, at the same time, take occasion to explain another correlative, the expression *object*, and, finally, the words mind, spirit, soul, self, and ego. Touching more particular definitions: *Psychology* is the discourse or doctrine treating of the human mind. Its use is vindicated by its precision, force, propriety, applicability, and extensive employment. Also by the lameness, the poorness, and unsuitability of other titles or terms by which some have attempted to substitute it. All our knowledge is relative. We know nothing absolutely. Therefore we only know the phenomena of matter, not matter absolutely; we only know the phenomena of mind, not mind absolutely. Phenomena are the modifications, states, appearances, &c., of matter or mind. They inhere in their subject or substance.

Matter and mind are names of something unknown to us and inconceivable. Thus, mind and matter, as known or knowable, are only two different series of phenomena or qualities; mind and matter as unknown and unknowable are the two substances in which these two different series of phenomena or qualities are supposed to inhere. The existence of an unknown substance is only an inference we are compelled to make, from the existence of known phenomena; and the distinction of two substances is only inferred from the seeming incompatibility of the two series of phenomena to co-inhere in one substance. Philosophers have been generally agreed that we know mind and matter not in themselves, but in their accidents or phenomena. Nothing exists for us—*i.e.*, is known by us—except what is adapted to our capabilities of knowledge. But what exists of which we are totally ignorant? Then, what we know is known *not as it is*, but as it *appears to be to us*. It may therefore be called impure knowledge. Phenomena are not presented immediately to the mind, but known as modified through certain intermediate agencies. Knowledge is relative, 1st, Because existence is not cognisable absolutely and in itself, but only in special modes; 2nd, Because these modes can be known only if they stand in a certain relation to our faculties; 3rd, Because the modes, thus relative to our faculties, are presented to, and known by, the mind under modifications determined by these faculties themselves. Some have, 1st, Expressions which denote the relative and the known, as, *e.g.*, phenomenon, mode, modification, state, quality, property, attribute, accident. 2nd, Those which denote the absolute and unknown—as subject, substance, and substratum; we also think *being*. The term *subject* denotes the unknown basis of phenomena, &c. Substance is a term which denotes what exists of itself, or in different modes. As: This paper is a substance in relation to the *attribute of white;* but it is itself a mode in relation to the substance, *matter*. *Mode* is the manner of a thing's existence. It may alter. *Modification* is often the same as mode, but is properly and strictly the bringing of anything into a certain mode of existence. *State* is nearly synonymous with mode, but more extensive. Theory and theoretical are opposed to practice and practical. This is attested by the history of these terms in philosophy. Yet theory and practice involve each other to some extent. Theory is mere knowledge or science; a knowledge of the principles by which practice accomplishes its end. *Power* is a word we may use both in an active and passive signification; and, in psychology, we may apply it both to the active faculties and the passive capacities of the mind. *Faculty* is properly limited to active power; and, therefore, is abusively applied to the mere passive affections of the mind. *Capacity*, on the other hand, is properly limited to these; though

there are examples of its use in an active sense. Its primary signification, which is literally *room for*, as well as its employment, favours this. *Disposition* denotes a *natural* tendency to action. *Habit* denotes an *acquired* tendency to action. *Act, operation, energy*, are all mutually convertible, as all denoting the present exertion or exercise of a power, a faculty, or a habit. *Potential* existence signifies that a thing *may be* at some time; *actual* existence signifies that a thing *is*.

"Now, power, faculty, capacity, disposition, habit, are all different expressions for potential or possible existence; act, operation, or energy, for actual or present existence. *Function* of a clergyman with us does not mean the performance of his duties, but the peculiarity of those duties themselves.

"Touching consciousness, and its special conditions. Consciousness is simple—is not composed of parts, either similar or dissimilar. The mental phenomena of which we are conscious divide themselves into the three great classes mentioned before (pp. 26, 28). Kant first promulgated this division. The terms conative and conation and exertive are employed generically of will and desire. These three classes of phenomena are not supposed t be independent of each other; but are rather mutually existent and helpful. In nature they are interwoven. Consciousness is undefinable. We may know it for ourselves, but cannot make others understand its essential nature from our confused definitions. But it may be philosophically analysed. The expressions I know that I know, I know that I feel, I know that I desire, are translated by I am *conscious* that I know, feel, or desire. Consciousness, in its simplicity, necessarily involves three things. 1st. A recognising or knowing *subject;* 2nd, a recognised or known *modification;* and, 3rd, a recognition or knowledge by the subject of the modification. (1) Consciousness is an *actual* and not a potential knowledge. (2) It is an *immediate* not a mediate knowledge. (3) It supposes a contrast, a discrimination. *First*, the grand contrast between self and not self; matter and mind. *Second*, the discrimination between the states or modifications of the internal subject or self from each other. *Third*, the distinction between the parts and qualities of the outer world. Some philosophers deny any consciousness beyond the knowing subject. *Fourth*, it involves judgment. *Fifth*, memory, unquestionably.

In respect to the relation of consciousness to the cognitive or knowing faculties in general, Sir William teaches: *First*, consciousness is co-extensive with our knowledge, not a special faculty, as feebly maintained by Brown and Reid, but a general—a genus comprehending our special faculties, as taught by Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Locke, Leibnitz, and Kant. Reid and Stewart maintain that we can know without knowing *what* we know. This is refuted

by Sir William, who maintains we must in the consciousness know *what* we know as well as *that* we know. Memory is a mediate knowledge of the past. We are conscious of this mediate knowledge; therefore we are conscious of all that memory includes. 1st. An object to be known immediately must be known in itself—that is, in those modifications, qualities, or phenomena through which it manifests its existence, and not in those of something different from itself. 2nd. If a thing can be immediately known, only if known in itself, it is manifest that it can only be known in itself, if it be actually in existence and actually in immediate relation to our faculties of knowledge. These are conditions of immediate knowledge. Memory is an act of knowledge; it can therefore be cognisant of a now-existent object.

Reid maintains that we have a direct and immediate knowledge of the external world. *Perception* is the faculty through which we obtain a knowledge of the external world. Reid contends that this perception limits consciousness to a special faculty. With him consciousness is the immediate knowledge we have of our own minds and their modifications; perception is our immediate objective knowledge, i.e., direct knowledge of external things. One of Reid's great errors is, the contradistinction of perception from consciousness. Hamilton states his theory in the following manner: 1st, The knowledge of opposites is *one*. Thus we cannot know what is tall without knowing what is short, &c. Nor do we know the ego and non-ego by a different law. What, then, is the faculty of which this act of knowledge is the energy? It cannot be Reid's consciousness, for that is cognisant only of the ego or mind; it cannot be Reid's perception, for that is cognisant only of the non-ego or matter. Then by what faculty are the ego and non-ego discriminated? 2nd, Reid's limitation of consciousness is suicidal of his doctrine of an immediate knowledge of an external world. *First*, his assertion that we know an object of which we are not conscious is absurd. *Second*, how is it possible that we can be conscious of an operation of perception, unless consciousness be co-extensive with the act? and how can it be co-extensive with the act and not also conversant with its object? *Third*, his theory of immediate knowledge has an unsubstantial basis; hence his limitation of consciousness, built upon it, falls to the ground. 3rd, Reid's attempted distinction between consciousness, and attention, and reflection, is almost as futile as that between perception, imagination, and memory. Attention and reflection are not correlative, but subordinate to consciousness. Attention to external things is *observation*, and to the subjects of our own consciousness is *reflection*. Attention is consciousness and something more; it is consciousness voluntarily applied, under its law of limitations, to some determinate object; it is consciousness concentrated. But the

mind *may* attend to more things than one, as, e.g., the many sounds of a concert, or the many objects in a picture or landscape. The contrary supposition of infinitesimal sounds and points seems impossible; for even then the units must be imagined afresh, or remembered, which acts would make the mind's exercise on them, and those other compared or contrasted with them, twofold at one time.

The evidence and authority of consciousness occupy a prominent place in Sir William's philosophical system. Consciousness is held to be the source whence we must derive every fact in the philosophy of mind. *First*, the authority, the certainty of this instrument—consciousness. Leibnitz says, "If our immediate internal experience could possibly deceive us, there could no longer be for us any truth of fact, nay, nor any truth of reason." The objection raised on the confusion in philosophical theories does not lie against consciousness and its authority as a book, but the weakness and mistakes of its translators and interpretors. There are three guiding rules to be observed respecting consciousness: 1st, That no fact be assumed as a fact of consciousness but what is ultimate and simple. This Sir William called the law of *parcimony*. 2nd, The law of *integrity*—that the whole facts of consciousness be taken without reserve or hesitation, whether given as consistent or as regulative data. 3rd, That nothing but the facts of conciousness be taken; or, if inferences of reasoning be admitted, that these at least be recognised as legitimate, only as deduced from, and in subordination to, the immediate data of consciousness, and every position rejected as illegitimate which is contradictory of these. This Sir William called the law of *harmony*.

I. The law of parcimony. What is a fact of consciousness? *First*, every mental phenomenon. But those which are primary and universal are specially facts of consciousness, as, e.g., the ego and non-ego. *Second*, as they must have a character of necessity, it must be impossible not to think them. *Third*, these phenomena are given with mere belief in their reality, *not* as to how or what they are. Results of first law—1. The facts given in the act of consciousness itself. 2. the facts which consciousness does not give, but to the reality of which, as existing beyond itself, it only bears evidence. It is, also, only the veracity of consciousness we have to prove. II. The law of integrity. If any phenomenon or constituent fact of consciousness be omitted, the doctrine of consciousness is not complete; if any law or regulative fact is excluded, the process of thought is vitiated. III. The law of harmony. As the violation of the second law is generally connected with the violation of the third (see before what the third law of harmony is), we shall do well to consider them together. Thus, Dr. Brown's doctrine—adopted also by others—violates laws 2. and 3. by main-

taining that we have no immediate knowledge beyond the states and modifications of our own minds. We only have knowledge of the ego, the non-ego being a modification of self, which mankind illusively denoted external, and different from self. Consciousness clearly testifies the reverse of this. The authority of consciousness is variously violated. Consciousness is the first and generative principle of philosophy; hence its utterances must *all* be received as true; part cannot be false. A philosophical system professing to receive part of the deliverances of consciousness, but rejecting others, *first*, depends on consciousness for all its facts; but, *second*, rejects part of what is guaranteed by consciousness, and is, therefore, a mendacious witness not to be relied on. What consciousness testifies must be all true or all false. On the theory of part being true and part false, how can consciousness enable us to discriminate between the two? Further, how is it discovered that part of a datum of consciousness is true and part false? Consciousness is violated when we deny the immediate knowledge of our own minds and the external world, in one and the same act of consciousness. Some philosophers, opposed to this theory of consciousness—to this knowledge of the not-me, have to admit that the voice of consciousness and the natural convictions of mankind are against them. Such are Descartes, Malibranche, Berkley, Hume, Kant, Fitche, Schelling, Tennemann, Jacobi. Thus in effect *they* admit such is the testimony of consciousness, but deny its truth. We shall return to this subject in our next number.

ALFRED CLAYTON.

ART. IV.—DR. CHALMERS.

No. IV.

MIRABAUD'S "System of Nature" made Chalmers a Sceptic; Beattie's "Truth," and Butler's "Analogy," brought him back again to religion; Pascal's "Thoughts," confirmed him in religious belief; and Wilberforce's "Practical View," greatly helped to give evangelical tone to his creed; *but*, it was the Spirit of God which changed his heart, and made him a Christian and workman who needed not to be ashamed. Conversion is very much regarded as illusion now-a-days. Under favourable circumstances it is quite easy to "convert" people, we are told. *Some* people, perhaps. But is it so easy to convert a philosopher; to turn the currents of a great soul into a new channel; to make solitary spiritual places glad, and moral oases to spring up in a life's desert, and blossom as the rose? When it is proved to be an inconsiderable matter to

create, we will admit it to be the same to *convert;* but, not *till* then. *You* could not have converted Thomas Chalmers, I opine; no, not with all the wild enthusiasms and animal excitements to help you, which a pseudo-revivalism is heir to. But *God* could; and God did. And, not before that mighty change was sensibly needed and assiduously sought. For the soul even of Chalmers, noble as it was, was but a "dry Sahara," till the "eternal life"-germs had fallen into it, and a divine vegetation, shooting, up into all the glories of tropical landscape, had clad its mighty slopes with glowing forms of beauty.

In the following-wise was the conversion of Chalmers brought about. And I may just observe, in passing, that remarkable men, who take their places as "chosen vessels" in the Church of God, are very often remarkably dealt with by Providence, both in the antecedents of their conversion, and in the actual manner of its occurrence. Readers of history need not to be told, how, for example, the sudden and alarming death of Luther's bosom friend, Alexis, led to events which "travelled in a train, and trod each other's heels," till they had arrived at the ear of Christendom fast asleep on a Delilah-bed; and had rung the great bell of the Reformation, calling the world to behold how the Giant arose and shook himself; and how the Scarlet Lady herself so trembled in her purple and fine linen, that the "cup of abominations" had well nigh fallen from her palsied hand. So great are the issues of small beginnings, in which He specially is, who can cause "the weak things of the world to confound the mighty, and things that are not to bring to naught things that are!" But to proceed with the case of our Scottish Luther. The grim power that tests the quality of persons and of principles as none other can, began to make itself felt with unusual activity around him; the King of Terrors, who is a respector of no condition nor circumstance, came uncomfortably near:—"The shafts flew thrice, and thrice his peace was slain." People died; and then, what? "Whoso can look on death, will start at no shadows." But Chalmers, though his look was stouter than that of his fellows, could not look upon *that!* Philosophy was dumb; and Moderatism could give no "certain sound." To himself personally at this time came affliction, and near prospect of death. In the course of Providence he had been carried up to great heights of attainment and wisdom, of reputation and public influence; but what of all that, *now?* He had got to "the top," certainly; but it was a Pisgah from which no Promised Land could be seen, at least for him. "Shadows, clouds, and darkness," only! Thus, the death of others, and the affliction to death's door of himself, co-working with the dearth of happiness in his own bosom, which Moderate-Christianity had utterly failed to deal with, effectually brought him to his spiritual senses, and,

the philosopher of Kilmany, like the jailor at Philippi, concentrated all the powers of his soul into focal intensity, into the one burning emotion-thought, of "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" His enfeebled "outward man," brought apparently to the edge of the grave, and his vigorous and alarmed "inner man" to the edge of the Eternal and Unknown; one world "receding and disappearing," as a mirage on the desert sand, and another hastening on to raise its vast circumference above the horizon of his vision; so many relatives and friends just gone; gone suddenly, and with a strange successive rapidity, as if each mortal stroke was a knock at *his* door. In a word, Vanity going, and, the Everlasting Yea coming. All this, and nothing to bear him up but mathematics, ethics, metaphysics, a cold Theism, and a Christianity eviscerated of its saving vitalities! What *is* the man to do? A fading dream, and a misty Pisgah, are all that seemingly remain to Thomas Chalmers now; the other Great Something looming frightful—distorted through the Mist—and looking, at best, as but a mystic Indefinability—a huge Somewhat, "between a Thought and a Thing," with no visible "living way" bridging the yawning gulphs—and no Christ-Voice breaking the horrid silence with its comfort-words of, "Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God believe also in Me. In my Father's house are many mansions; and there I have prepared a place for *you!*" The "situation" is indeed awful! But, thank God! who is "not willing that any should perish," a loving Saviour embraced the seeking sinner, and Thomas Chalmers became "a new creature;" for, in his own emphatic words, "a great and entire spiritual revolution was accomplished in him." What, now, *but* Christianity; the Christianity, I mean, of Christ, which is demonstrably of evangelistic type, could thus pluck a brand from the burning; thus fill the "aching void" of a great mind with instantaneous and life-abiding happiness; thus make a philosopher's heart which had grown cold in Himmalayan air of speculative thought, warm and leaping with the love of God and of man "shed abroad" in it? We know of no such miracle-working power outside the Truth as it is in Jesus, and the Influence as it is in the Holy Ghost.

From out of that shadow of death, and that bed of affliction, the great man came with a new greatness upon him—with a glory on his face and character, as did Moses, when he came down from out of "the thick darkness where God was;" and, upon him that diviner grandeur remained, "gathering splendour till it grew sublime," to the end of his life. "My confinement," he wrote to a friend, "has fixed on my heart a very strong impression of the insignificance of time—an impression which I trust will not abandon me, though I again reach the heyday of health and vigour.

This should be the first step to another impression still more salutary—the magnitude of eternity. Strip human life of its connection with a higher scene of existence, and it is the illusion of an instant, an unmeaning farce, a series of visions and projects, and convulsive efforts which terminate in nothing." Solemn and elevated sentiment like this continued to be the ring of him, until it ceased to the ears of mortals; only to sound to the ear of immortals, with diviner notes, and in "diapason full," for ever and ever! Made of true metal—mental, moral, and physical—was Thomas Chalmers! "Time rests on Eternity; and he who has no vision of Eternity, will never get a true hold of Time, or its affairs." Words, how true!

How Chalmers *preached*, after his conversion! Paganini played marvellously with one string only on his instrument; but when all the strings were there! How Chalmers *lived* after his conversion, rejoicing evermore as he went on his way! A vigorous seed for ages will keep hold of vitality in a sarcophagus full of "dead men's bones;" but when it finds its proper matrix, and feels the power of light! How Chalmers *worked*, after his conversion! A shaven Sampson may do exploits of "grinding;" but when he steps forth into the universe, with his locks on! How Chalmers *endured to the end*, after his conversion, like the shining light, growing brighter and brighter unto the perfect day; redeeming the time, to preach, to write, and to live, Christ and Christianity as he had "learned" them; and never for a moment standing still, in his noble work and herculean labours, till the Master appeared, and the chariot of fire stood at his door; the moral of it all being—that evangelical religion is no cunningly devised enthusiasm, but a divine subjective experience; and that Evangelical theology is not born of fancy, but of fact; is not representative of mere speculative error, but of *bona fide* objective truth. In short, Chalmers may be said to have been a typical specimen of Evangelicism—both spiritual and theological—personified; and assuredly, the ism was no more a dream-religion, than the individual himself was a myth-man. "We do not know," says Butler, "how far it is possible in the nature of things, that effects should be wrought in us at once, equivalent to habits, that is, what is wrought by use and exercise." "The wind," says a greater than Butler, "bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." Let matter-of-fact suffice us in the meantime; the wind *bloweth*, and men are *converted;* higher position in being will give us extended command of view; and intensified, if not additional, faculty in ourselves, open to us grandeurs of phenomena, and of principle, unthought of before. At present, our knowledge is necessarily limited by our restricted

receptivity; and, like those who watch for the morning, we are compelled, by our very make, and situation to *wait;* may we do it, in humility and patience, until the Day break, and the Shadows flee away.

The character of the man, and the character of his preaching, told at once that Chalmers had undergone some great change. The news of his conversion spread rapidly through the country; and "Tom Chalmers is mad!" was the immediate cry in the host of Moderatism, whose kind of doctrine he had now abandoned. This saying received a singular illustration a few years after, when he was settled in Glasgow. A gentleman and his wife, one Sabbath, going to church, met a friend, who spoke to them, and inquired where they were going. "To hear Dr. Chalmers," was the answer. "What! to hear that madman?" he exclaimed. By persuasion, however, the friend at last consented to go with them, and hear for himself what the babbler would say. Somewhat singular to relate, on that very occasion the "madman" gave out as his text those grand words of another "madman," "I am not mad, most noble Festus; but speak forth the words of truth and soberness." And what a sermon would be preached from such a text, by such a man! It was soon apparent who the madman was. The gentleman who went to that church "to mock, returned to pray," and from that time forth, became a changed man, and a convert to that "sect of Nazarenes," called Evangelical-Christians.

From the small parish of Kilmany, this great man, whose parish, in reality, was the world, was removed to be minister of one of the city parishes of Glasgow. Here his fame as a preacher became "full orbed;" his brilliancy and power bursting forth with transcendent splendour; and the astonished people being spell-bound as under the influence of some mighty magician. In Glasgow it was that Edward Irving, whom he snatched as a brand from the burning of a forlorn condition, and a despairing mind, became his assistant. But for Chalmers, Irving had, in all probability become, what the Scotch call a "stickit" minister; nay, a hewer of wood and stump-orator, in the backwoods of America; only to think of it! What congregations now assembled, and what sermons were now preached, in that Glasgow Church of St. John's! It was here there were delivered the "Astronomical Discourses," whose grandeur of theme, magnificence of language, profoundness of sentiment, and comprehensiveness of view, for ever stamp them as belonging to the highest order of imaginative eloquence, of philosophic thought, and of theological exposition. They were not of the flimsy material that meteors are made of, but of the true star-stuff; and so, they are shining down upon us still, as bright and beautiful as ever. But what *is* of flimsy consistency, that ever proceeded from the brain and pen of Chalmers? Even

the ordinary Glasgow "Sermons" are still worth reading; even the "Political Economy" and the "Ecclesiastical Establishments" are still worth reading, dry as are the subjects, and "behind," as may be the views maintained. He could not touch *any* subject, but immediately it began to shine; as he could not read even a Report, without investing it with a halo of interestingness. "Psychic force"? yes, indeed; and do not his very books give evidence of it? Is there not a phosphoric-sheen upon them; and does not each sentence contain its drop of living light, like the sparkle of the glow-worm, which gives a magic even to the withering grass? At all events, to those who personally knew the man, it is so. But Glasgow felt his power as a man of action, no less than as a pulpit orator. Energy and force like his were not to be confined to any one thing; they required *scope*, and scope they would have. Having sounded his trumpet for some time from the pulpit, he began to move his forces, rapid as a Grecian phalanx, and grim-earnest as a Roman legion against the enemy. That great "city of the west" was his workshop; the "unwashed" masses his raw material; and the Gospel of the grace of God, the instrumentality with which he worked; voluntarily assuming the charge of a large district, containing a population of ten thousand souls, he set himself to the task with all that simplicity of motive, wisdom of working, momentum of will, persistency of effort, and "enthusiasm of humanity," which so marked his character, and constituted him the great power he was ever felt to be. Success crowned his labour of love; chaos became cosmos; and the good man rejoiced in the work of his hands. "The record," says one, "of his great experiment, as it was deemed, in this parish, is one of the most instructive and suggestive to be found in the history of the Church of Christ." Somehow, the "district of ten thousand"-working in Glasgow never got on much, I understand, after Chalmers left. How much *one* man can sometimes do; and how little *twenty* men can sometimes do! But what *can not* "shaping" mind, intense volition, Christian magnanimity, and programme that discards the word "impossible," do?

His next charge was the Moral Philosophy Chair in the University of St. Andrew's; and that chair he converted into a mighty instrument of Christian good. Through the cold marble of Moral Philosophy, as taught by Greek philosophers, and Moderate professors, ran the fire-vein of Christian truth, as taught by Chalmers. Having Socrates, Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, and Confucius, what do we want with heathen-professors in Christian-Universities? Behold! a greater than Plato is here; union is strength; and the Great Teacher has verified morality *and* religion; has taught us that the Kingdom of God, which is "within you," stands upon them both, *is* them both; and what

God has joined together, who shall put asunder? Physical light is a compound, the pure white ray comes of combination; and so does Christianity, "the light of the world;" the prismatic elements here, being human moralities on the one hand, and Divine principles—as *supernatural* influence, and *revealed* truth, on the other. Except your righteousness exceed that of the Pharisees in Jewish Sanhedrims; and that of the Sadducees in British Moral Philosophy Chairs, ye shall in no wise enter the Kingdom of Heaven! "Christopher North" was a noble genius, and the right man in the right place in a Noctes Ambrosianæ-chair, but what *had* he to do in the Edinburgh Moral Philosophy Chair? and *where* are his lectures?

The last scene of all, of the Doctor's eventful history, was Edinburgh. That was the place for Chalmers; and Chalmers was the man for that place; and most thoroughly did they appreciate each other. "When I die, let me go to Paris," is a saying among the Americans; but, "When I die, let me go to Edinburgh, if I could go to no better a place," would be my feeling; and I have heard of some one who said, "When I die, I should like to go by way of Edinburgh." "I have been there, and still would go," is unquestionably the language of all who have tasted of its beauties and its amenities. The "Modern Athens," and *more*, is the Edinburgh of to-day. The Greeks built the Parthenon, and the Egyptians the Pyramids; but the Scotch built the "palace and towers," *the* Scot Monument, and the University of Edinburgh; whilst God built its Calton Hill, Castle Rock, and Arthur's Seat. Great is Edinburgh; great in its historical associations, its academical prestige, and its literary advantages; great in its monumental statuary, and its surrounding scenery; great in its human faces, and its human heads. "Course of Time" Pollok used to find one of his chief delights to be, walking along Prince's-street, and contemplating the noble specimens of "the human face divine," which were there to be met with. Yes; "canny Scot"' is obviously typical Man; especially in Edinburgh. Great is this old-and-new city in its preachers and its professors; in its advocates and its littérateurs: but greatest to us, no less than to thousands besides, was it in the possession of its Dr. Chalmers!

He now stood at the "top of the tree," among the philosophers and authors of the age, and became the centre of great movements and changes, which alarmed the "powers-that-be" authority, and shook the old Ecclesiasticism of Scotland to its foundations, with the throes of moral earthquake. The ten years' contest, previous to the disruption, on the great question of patronage relating to church livings, was a period of marvellous excitement. The goings-on, I suppose, in the General Assembly of those days, was a sight not soon to be forgotten. There stood Chalmers in his party, like

the sun amid his planets, or a Cæsar amid his legions, the "cynosure of all eyes;" all eyes on the Liberal side being towards *him,* and all expectations from him; for who, in their estimation, knew so much, or could do so much? To see the huge cyclopean intellect come down like a guillotine axe on the neck of patronage-logic, snuffing out in a moment the little light, or the much light, men thought they saw in it; to see the practical sagacity, the philosophic grasp, the persistent tone, and the hurricane energy, combined with majesty of look and kingliness of attitude, cutting to pieces and shearing to shreds the thin-articulated plausibilities of Lord Aberdeen and Co. on the one hand, and the stronger argumentation of Dr. Cook and Co. on the other, could not be other than a scene for the painter, and an event for the historian. This was before my time in Edinburgh, the disruption year being my first there; but I have read the Reports of some of the years' General Assembly proceedings, and this, I think, I have seen:—that Chalmers was always master of the situation in point of argument, however much he might in the end, be found in the minority. Dr. Cook, of Belfast, was leader on the other side—the Right, as one may say; but logician and debater though he was *par excellence*, the "jaw bone" on the Left, was wielded with such a power that nothing seems to have been able to stand before it. Dr. Cook's ready logic, and elegant language, might run on like "liquid lapse of murmuring stream," and you might be carried away with the naturalness and beauty of the thing; but a greater than Dr. Cook was there; and when the avalanche came thundering down from the heights, the stream was nowhere; and the one impression would be that of momentum and mass. In after years, on Establishment General Assembly occasions—for he stuck by the loaves and fishes—I had the opportunity and pleasure of frequently hearing Dr. Cook; and I must say, a more eloquent speaker, or a more efficient debater, I scarcely ever heard. At the same time, a most effective preacher he was as well. But it is needless to say that he lacked the *Je-ne-sais-quoi* of Chalmers, as who did not? Probably no one was ever more completely cut up into *disjecta membra* as was that eccentric and clever D.D. and LL.D., John Ritchie, of Edinburgh, in a public debate on Church Establishments, which he had with this same Dr. Cook in Belfast; and what made the matter still more cutting, Ritchie himself was the aggressor. He bearded the lion in his den, and, unluckily for the would-be hero, the lion *came out.* In passing, I may here just mention a little incident. I myself was once sitting alone on a seat in the Queen's-drive, which extends around Arthur's Seat. The day was beautiful, and the dome of sky looked peculiarly clear and grand; when, who should come up but "old Doctor Ritchie." I had no acquaintance with him, but he just turned towards me in passing, and pointing in his kind and humorous way

to the blue vault, said, "You are not high enough to reach *that*, sir." "Nay, sir," I replied, pointing to my *caput vivum;* or rather to the dweller in that temple, "you are wrong, that is not high enough to reach *this*." "Ah!" he simply exclaimed, and passed on his way. Not long after, he was called upon to go *beyond* "that;" for he was a good man, and sympathised with all that was large and of advanced character in the civil and intellectual movements of society; notwithstanding the rigidness of his Calvinism, which was of the "most straitest" kind conceivable. He was an immense admirer of Chalmers, although, in matters ecclesiastical and political, they stood as wide apart from each other, as do the poles of the earth. During the Disruption period, many of his witty *mots* and trenchant remarks forcibly hit the mark, making some men and things look anything but consistent. He thought, for instance, that Chalmers and his Free Churchers, after what had happened, ought to have had done with the principle of Establishments; neither touching, tasting, nor handling the unclean thing, but standing altogether away from it, as out-and-out Voluntaries. And many besides Dr. Ritchie thought, and still think, the same thing. When, by force of subterranean fire and thunder, a mountain (in the form of a State Church) is riven assunder, so that the currents of heaven can get through—airing and cleansing the old musty centre, shut up for ages—let the two separated parts *remain* two, in the most absolute sense of the word; for what communion hath Christ with Cæsar? or what affinity hath fertile Gerizim with sterile Ebal? Neither in this mountain, nor in that, is anything of true moral and spiritual avail, but God worshipped in spirit and in truth! Christ is head; but Cæsar is not even tail, in that kingdom which is not of this world; *he* has nothing whatever to do with it; and *is* it not a poor, poor mountain that cannot keep itself up without *his* propping—cannot get verdure from the heavens, nor send down streams for its populated vallies, without *his* blessing? O, self-consistency! where wast thou when Dr. Ritchie was looking so anxiously for thee in Chalmers and Company; and where art thou now? If man at his best estate were not "altogether vanity," he would, at least, be consistent with himself; would not hug Voluntaryism one moment, and its opposite the next; or rather, blow hot and cold at the self-same time! Yet, as is well known, so did, and so do, the leaders of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland. They wanted the *pay* of the State, but yet would keep all *power* in the Church to themselves! A consummation which, however devoutly to be wished, by such as give up Cæsar for Conscience, is not likely to be "homologated" by the Lord Aberdeens and John Bulls of any period. A State Church, without State rule, is an anomaly. Such a church I hold to be a moral impossibility, the arguments and fixed idea of Dr. Chalmers and his partizans, notwithstanding.

Where the one hand gives the pay, there the other hand will grasp the power; such being the verdict of history, and such the character of human nature.

The other "lions" of the Chalmers party, what about them? A word or two, I am sorry to say, must suffice here; for these *were* lions; if not of the giant proportions of their King, yet of the true royal type, and unmistakable breed. I think I see them now; true Anakims; men of "Atlantean shoulders," fit to bear the weight of mightiest revolutions; to wield all their destructive-constructive elements; and to stand, meanwhile, "as the beaten anvil to the stroke," unmoved amid "a sea of troubles," and a world up in arms against them! There was Dr. Gordon; a man of fine intellect and unblemished reputation; standing high as a preacher, and still higher as a rare specimen of moral type and tone. I heard him preach once, and might, possibly, have mistaken him for Chalmers himself, had the Chalmers' imagination and leonine rapt look, been there. Dr. Gordon was nothing as a debater; but his statesmanlike views and practical sagacity, combined with his incisive logic and force of character, made him a power in the controversy, and a pillar to the cause of his party. He was getting aged, however, at the time of the Disruption, and did not long survive its occurrence. Second only to Chalmers, Dr. Gordon was one of the weightiest men in Edinbro' and Scotland generally. There was also Dr. Cunningham, or "sledge hammer" Cunningham, as he was facetiously, and with great appositeness, called. Woe to the unlucky wight that happened to "come in" for one of his swinging blows; how it made him stagger and reel, as the Scotch Solicitor-General of that day had good reason to remember! A genuine Thor was William Cunningham in power of logic, and powers of debate; and as such, the enemy greatly feared him, and to all practicable extent avoided his immediate vicinage. As a preacher, however, he was dry and prolix, and, as the custom was, read his sermons. As a writer his forte lay in Exegetical Theology, and Church History. He was very able as a controversial divine, and quite competent to hold his ground—and more—in a stand-up fight with a champion no less redoubtable than Sir William Hamilton himself. At the time of his death, which was alarmingly sudden, he held the high offices of divinity-professor and principal of the Free College. In the order of our thoughts, Dr. Begg comes next. A stalwart combatant he; and of him, as of Knox, it might be said, "There goes one who never feared the face of man." A fine speaker, though a dryish preacher, is Dr. Begg. Warm in temper, and keen in debate, as Damascus steel. One of the best handbooks on Popery extant, is written by Dr. Begg. He is a man of large and liberal views, though somewhat one-sided, perhaps, in the advocacy of them. In the sense

of getting at the roots of questions he deals with, he may be called a radical. When occasion requires, he spares neither friend nor foe. He is an Evangelical of the old school, and detests Rationalism, Ritualism, and Romanism, with all his heart. He is a man for the times; and long may he live to adorn and better them. Who is that little man, there, with the big head and nervous-twitching manner? See!—why, he cannot sit still; he *must* be seated on pins and needles. Ah! that is Dr. Candlish; of whom Chalmers is reported to have said, that he had more promptitude than power. In the vast and all-sided sense of the Chalmers'-measure of power, perhaps; but in no other. Promptitude there is to an immense extent; and power, too, there is, of no mean order. I fancy that he beats round the bush a good deal; but he generally starts the game, for all that, and knows how to bring it down, too. At the same time, I should say, that his prestige is fully equal to his power. He has written some very respectable books, and is as full of matter as an egg is of meat, to use a familiar saying. His influence in the Church Courts stands superlatively high. Prompt, fluent, comprehensive, and courageous "to the backbone," he is invaluable to his allies, and terrible to his adversaries. Combative, and true game; and industrious, and indefatigable, he has made his mark on his day and generation, which could ill spare him. Speculative and rash, however, his orthodoxy has been more than once suspected; whether rightly or not, I am not able to say. As a pulpit orator, his popularity has ever been greater than his merits. He *looks* crabbed and irritable to a degree; but *is*, they affirm, genial, and all that could be desired, in personal intercourse. As a lecturer, he far excels himself as a preacher. The dry-ratiocinative faculty is much larger in him than the poetic-imaginative. He is a voluminous writer; his best work is his "Reason and Religion;" and his worst, his "Atonement." Maurice and he got to skirmishing; but both of them are too wordy and loose. And who, pray, is yon tall, gaunt form with the grave-pleasant face, over which the brain leans like the tower of Pisa? What! don't you know him? I thought every body had known Dr. Guthrie. Yes; yon is the Big Beggarman, as he called himself at the time of his excursioning to raise funds for the Manse-scheme (I think it was) of his church. Powerful in the pulpit and powerful on the platform was Dr. Guthrie. Chalmers apart, no one was ever more run after in Edinburgh, and in Scotland at large, than he. Deficient of the profounder elements of intellect, he possessed the popular ones in measure exceptionally large. It was in the imagination region where his great power lay; and, for aptitude and force of illustration, for beauty and variety of imagery, no less than for purity and elegance of language, where do you find his

superior? Every inch a man; and yards high, he was at home equally in the hovels of the poor and in the mansions of the rich; among nobles he was noble, in the presence of royalty he was kingly; 'mid pauper and street arabs he was human; and, with all, he was Christian, which is ever "the highest style of man." In a word, Thomas Guthrie had a roundness of individuality, and an apostolicity of character, which enabled him to become all things to all men. Would that space had been left for somewhat more on one who was, at the same time, so great in his humanity and so great in his Christianity! Another there is, contemporary and friend of Chalmers—layman only though he was—whom I *must* mention. In the corner, yonder, he is sitting with a shepherd plaid around his brawny shoulders, and a mop of sand-coloured hair on his big, big head. Is it because he is proud, or because he is humble and shy, that he has chosen to seat himself yonder? I don't know; perhaps a little of all the three. It is, however, because it is Hugh Miller, editor of the "Witness," and author of "Old Red Sandstone." A *great* man, yon sir, and worthy of the high personal esteem which Chalmers himself has for him. Nay, has not Chalmers said of him, that "a massier intellect, and a finer writer has not appeared in Scotland since Sir Walter Scott." And, for perspicacity of mind, perspicuity of style, and princeliness of thought, his equal is not easily found. He almost worships Chalmers, and would, I believe, lay down his life for him if need were that he should do so. This—layman only though he is, and stonemason only though he was—is greatest of the six; is the Jupiter of the Secondaries that revolve around their Great Central Star; and nobler service none of them renders to the cause of the Free Church of Scotland. Yea; sound as the granite of his native hills, and majestic as the streams of his native vales, was the soul of Hugh Miller. It was his over-worked and diseased brain, rather than his "own hand," that killed him. There were also Lord Moncrieffe, and the Hon. Fox Maule—now Earl Dalhousie—and others of note, in that singular category of Free Church magnates. But I must hasten on.

My subject seems to lengthen and swell out, on all sides, like the star dust of the Milky Way, and yet a few atomic particles are all that my space has allowed me to manipulate. I believe I promised an "analysis" of Chalmers's intellectual idiosyncrasies. Large word! What am I to do? I cannot mete the ocean with a span; and so, I must content myself to put a few puny drops into a puny thimble. To thoroughly analyse Chalmers's qualities, intellectual and moral, one would require a volume. In a running style only can I now say a few words on the subject. Thomas Chalmers, then, was an Epoch Man. Out of the great heaving sea of Humanity, *such* men rise amid the bubbles, at long intervals of time. When shall

we see another Plato; another Milton; another Cromwell; another Shakespeare; another Luther; another Wesley? The irresistible power of Chalmers over the minds of others sprang not from this or that faculty eminent in him; nor even from the accumulation of gifts; so much as from a condensation or focal union of all the faculties, mental, moral, and physical—body, soul, and spirit—effected the force of one master influence to which he had surrendered his by being. Whenever this sort of concentration takes place, there is generated a "psychic force" striking upon other spirits as it were an electric influence; and they bow, subdued, yet elevated, before it, as under an afflatus from the supernatural itself. You should have *felt* it—to know it—when Chalmers was speaking from pulpit, platform, or desk; when addressing assembled thousands, or when speaking to a few poor men and women about their souls! No matter where he was, or what the occasion, there was the outgoing of the same majestic and resistless power; and the same homage of others; which the rusticity of appearance, the gaucherie of manner, and the unassumingness of a child, on his part, did not in the least degree lessen; nay, this homage was rather heightened than otherwise, by the contrast there was between the soul-force of the man, and these accidents of outward defect, through which that force burst forth, as did Sampson through the green withs that bound him. Thomas Chalmers was a *great* man. He had amplitude of soul in the three dimensions of height, depth, and breadth. He moved amid infinities, and *felt* it. He walked 'mid worlds realised and unrealised, and *knew* it. A man must *be* great, to *do* great. By an innate spontaneous tendency, Chalmers was ever gravitating in thought, and in emotion, towards "the things that are before"; to the things that are invisible, eternal, infinite; and yet, this native greatness of soul and unworldliness of tendency, did not lessen, but the rather increased, his practicalness relative to the things of time and sense; such being the roundness and equipoise of his faculties. John Foster, and Blaise Pascal, were great; but through their greatness there ran a vein of sombre feeling and morbid meditation, which greatly detracted from it, making it a source of unhappiness, instead of the opposite, to its possessors. Not so, with Thomas Chalmers. He stept lightly, where they dragged on heavily; he soared where they sank; and was great with buoyancy and hope, where they were oppressed with leadenness and dubiety. He never got entangled in the Slough of Despond, or shut up in Doubting Castle. The Land of Beulah was the place for him; and there his great soul revelled in joy unspeakable and full of glory; not, that he was not often pacing the Valley of Humiliation. "Those Immensities *affright* me!" was the experience of Pascal. Those Immensities *attract* me, was the experience of Chalmers. His, meanwhile,

was a greatness which employed itself in wide generalizations, and vast practical schemes. Institution and System; these were the principles which ever formed the staple of his thinkings and efforts. He was also great enough for Detail; "power of littles" being an expression which he frequently used. Both in mind and heart, was Chalmers great. Whether or not we go with him in his doctrines, as a political economist, or as an ecclesiastical theorist; as a theological expositor, or as a philosophic thinker, his views were always wide and comprehensive. Above the low and grovelling, in thought and scheme, he mounted aloft as on eagles' wings. Over a pinched-in aspect of things, he rapidly passed on, leaving upon it only the shadow of his broad wings as they flew towards ampler verge and room enough. Great he was—not only as a Preacher and Writer, but as the Restorer of evangelic doctrine and evangelic feeling in Scotland; as an Economist and Municipal Reformer; and as a leader in the great Ecclesiastical movements of his times. He is twenty years Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh. He writes his Bridgwater Treatise and scores of volumes besides. He becomes the apostle of Church Extension in Scotland, and creates 200 new churches at an expense of £300,000. He stands up in London, amidst admiring princes of the blood, peers, bishops, and ministers of state, to defend the principle of Church Establishments. (Dr. Wardlaw was not there at the time, but he went afterwards; a neighbour came and searched the arguments of the Great Man; and found them far from being as great as their author!) He throws down the gauntlet, steps into the arena, and fights the great battle of Non-Intrusion, carrying half the General Assembly with him into the Free Church. To Tanfield Hall, was the cry, Chalmers marching at the head of five hundred ministers of the Established Church of Scotland who had left all to follow Christ and Chalmers; Francis Jeffrey looking on the while, and weeping to see that Moral Sublime! He preaches so, that the whole world would hear him if they could. None but a great and leading mind—a mind of many attributes and dimensions—could have done all this, and much more besides, which cannot be here stated. Thomas Chalmers was unquestionably a Great Man. There was no one faculty which so absolutely held supremacy as to cast all the others into the shade, though there were faculties developed in his mind to an extraordinary degree; as the ratiocinative, and the imaginative, for instance; or what the phrenologists call causality, and ideality. "That which peculiarly signalised his mind," says Dr. W. L. Alexander, himself a great man, "I apprehend, was the co-existence of the creative faculty, in a degree but rarely exhibited, with other faculties not usually found united with it; certainly in not so high a state of development as was the case with him. Of the creative faculty—the peculiar

faculty of genius—all the great elements were found in the mind of Dr. Chalmers. His great powers were not those of the lower understanding. It is when we ascend to the region of the Higher Reason—the genius region—that his vast intellectual superiority breaks upon our view." Besides the creative element, there resides in the Reason another power, which may be called the Thought faculty—the faculty by which men not only lay hold of, but realise, ideas. In some men of good understanding, the faculty is but feebly developed. How difficult is it for them to get hold of anything; they are like men who struggle on with a cold clayey farm; and are no richer at the end of twenty years than they were at the beginning!

The *greatest thing of all* in this greatest of men, I take it, was the simple fact that for 37 years of life which were given to him after the great change which took place in the quiet parsonage of Kilmany, he stuck to Evangelical Christianity with all his might, and went on all the time "growing in grace," according to the teaching of that kind of Christianity! And, if that is *not* the true kind, then Christianity is a mere Moralism, and Christ no higher a teacher than Cicero!

On Friday, May 28, 1847, he reached his home in his usual health. In a few hours afterwards he was in eternity, being found dead in his bed. When Cæsar was stabbed in the senate-house, a greater sensation was not created in Rome on bruit of the news of it, than that produced in Edinburgh on the morning when the cry went forth: "*Dr. Chalmers is dead!*" Having attended his Lectures, and been so great an admirer, nay venerator, of him, I was permitted to stand for some time alone by the side of his coffined remains, in the chamber of death. How solemn, yet how sublime, it was to be there! I shall never forget *that* incident. What a funeral; it extended two miles; everybody apparently, being there!

After the labours of a great career he sleeps well under a plain granite monolith of large dimensions in the Grange Cemetery, inscribed with nothing but his name, and the dates of his birth and death. The whole thing is grand and simple as greatness. The Doctor lies in the midst of a host of Scottish worthies—like the chief and central star in a constellation. Hugh Miller lies in the immediate vicinity of his great friend and adviser. Many a time have we visited that venerable place, and looked at the grave enclosed with thick metallic rods fixed in stone columns or posts, and ever kept fresh-like in appearance as if newly-made, for a great man lies there, and good as great.

JABEZ COLE.

ART. V.—INSTINCT.

THE term "instinct" is an expression or form of speech that conceals our ignorance rather than reveals our knowledge. The phenomena of instinct abound on every hand, but it is impossible to conceive or describe their precise nature with exactness—they lie in the distance; their forms are weird and indistinct. The same thing may be said of many other momentous matters. In defining gravitation it is said to be "the force by which bodies are pressed or drawn, or by which they tend towards the centre of the earth, or other centres." Does this definition break the shell of the question, and yield the kernel? We trow not. The difficulty, instead of being solved, is evaded. Still we all believe in such a thing as gravitation, inasmuch as we are conversant with its manifestations. In defining the nature of the human soul, it is said to be "an immaterial substance;" but this, instead of affording a clear and positive idea, darkens counsel by words without knowledge, giving us the mere negation of matter. And yet we are conscious of possessing something which is called soul or spirit. It is within us. Nay, it constitutes the conscious ego—the I.

Amongst the numerous definitions of the term instinct, to be found in lexicographical works, and in works on natural history, we select several. Johnson says that "instinct is a natural desire or aversion." The Imperial Dictionary tells us that "instinct is a certain power or disposition of mind by which, independent of all instruction and experience, without deliberation, and without having any end in view, animals are unerringly directed, and do spontaneously whatever is necessary for the preservation of the individual, or the continuation of the kind." In an essay in Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection," the following occurs: "Instinct is a power of selecting and applying appropriate means to an immediate end, according to circumstances and the change of circumstances, these being variable and varying; but yet so as to be referrable to the general habits arising out of the constitution and previous circumstances of the animal, considered not as an individual but as a race." Paley says, "An instinct is a propensity prior to experience, and independent of instruction."

By Johnson and Paley instinct is designated as a "desire," a "propensity." In the Imperial Dictionary and in Coleridge it is spoken of as possessing the characteristic of mentality—a "power or inspiration of mind," a power of selecting and applying." Whether intellectuality enters into the composition of instinct is doubtful. It seems rather to be a simple essence, exhibiting no doubt an inexplicable connection with rationality, but having its seat in the sensorium of animal existence. We regard it as a proclivity, not of thought, but of feeling. Under certain conditions this bias be-

comes so urgent, so imperious, that the subject of it is placed entirely at its mercy. The living organism yields to this proneness through sheer necessity. It obeys this law of its being as surely as the planets obey mechanical law. A tiger may be so trained as to act contrary to its previous desires and habits. This fact implies that the tiger possesses mind—that it possesses capacity for instruction—that it can weaken and subdue its inborn propensities. But left to itself, the tiger would never inflict such self-mortification, or form such habits as we witness in menageries. This denaturalization is often very unreal and dangerous. The instincts for the freedom of the forest, for the shelter of the jungle, for the living prey, are only repressed, not destroyed. As soon as opportunity occurs nature triumphs over art. But what are the points of comparison and the points of contrast between the reason of an animal and the reason of a man it is difficult to tell. Animal consciousness affords us no reliable data. What an animal thinks, how it thinks, or what may be the nature of the thinking power, are matters which lie beyond and above our view. "As straight as the crow flies," is proverbial. This bird evidently acts according to one of the simplest geometrical axioms, viz., that the shortest distance between two given points is a straight line. The ostrich, however, seems incapable of comprehending or of acting on such a simple rule. It is partly on account of its ignorance that it becomes such an easy prey. In this instance we perceive instinct to be but the manifestation of a blind impulse. It is a common practice to place a chalk egg in the ostrich nest, to keep the hen at home. Does she know that the egg on which she sits is a fictitious one? Some would say that she does not, but this would be begging the question. Yet as far as appearances go, she seems utterly ignorant of the fraud. Set a hen with duck eggs. Can she perceive the difference between them and the eggs which she herself has laid? She acts as if totally unconscious of any dissimilarity. When the little ones break the shell, does she know that her tender brood consists of ducklings rather than of chickens? Throughout the whole of this process the mother bird seems to be imposed upon, and she does not appear to possess the faintest notion of the imposition thus inflicted. In such a case, instinct exhibits itself as a mere impulse, unattended or unaided by the slightest glimmerings of reason. "It is the element of blind instrumentality in the production of a highly-wrought intellectual result that we specifically mean by instinct." —*Brougham.*

Instinct is prior to experience and independent of instruction. These constitute two of the most powerful and effectual teachers. On these two pillars the fabric of human knowledge reposes. It is because we are endowed with reason that experience and instruction form the two factors in our education. Animals may,

and possibly do, possess reason, but they do not possess it in the same way, or in the same degree as we do, consequently they are not dependent on the same methods of self-improvement. A dog may be taught to go for its mistress's milk; a horse by going the same road frequently may learn to stop at the several houses where his master usually calls; a bird by experience may learn to draw its water up in a little bucket from the bottom of the cage, and so on. Here is evidenced the existence of mind—a capacity for instruction; but such like instances indicate not a normal, but an abnormal state. Such lessons are superinduced upon creature life, and do not flow spontaneously out thereof, and are imparted by a superior mind. Instinct is regarded as but hereditary habit. This may be part of the truth, but not the whole truth. It is too narrow a definition to take in the entire phenomena. Parents doubtless impart a given bias or tendency to their offspring, but habit itself cannot be transmitted. Parents addicted to intemperance or to an excessive use of tobacco, may give a vitiating tone to their children; but this physiological law is open to many exceptions. There are children (and many of them too) born of such parents who have not the slightest inclination for intoxicating drinks or tobacco. If instinct be resolvable into hereditary habit, it is strange that these habits have been transmitted from age to age since the creation with the same constancy and uniformity. One would have thought that some of the more sagacious creatures in their playfulness or mischievousness would have struck out a new path, and by the formation and transformation of some peculiar habits have broken down the distinctions that separate species from species and genus from genus. We may be told that birds build their nests by, or through, or in consequence of, some inherited tendency. What has been bred in may possibly be bred out. By subjecting birds to a different regimen unto the third or fourth generation, we may succeed in weakening, if not in totally eradicating this hereditary bias. Suppose hedge sparrows were confined in a cage and were permitted to breed for many years but without allowing this inherited tendency of nest making to develop itself. During the pairing season open the cage and allow one of each kind the liberty of taking up their abode in a garden or orchard. Would they, or would they not, construct a nest of the same form and materials as hedge sparrows do? We think they would; and moreover, would probably build a nest as much adapted to the purposes of bird-life as some of their remote progenitors. Again, the suggestion that instinct is but hereditary habit will not apply to some creatures. A habit is formed by the repetition of acts, but some insects are so short lived that repetition becomes impossible. Certain acts are performed but once; consequently the habit cannot be formed. The male and female

come together but once, the female lays her eggs but once, and then expires. They are utterly destitute of experience or instruction, and yet in the selection of a place to deposit the ova, where they may find security from danger, and suitable nutriment when they develop into a higher form of life, the insect acts with as much certainty and foresight as if it had acquired such knowledge through a prolonged experience. It is a common saying that practice makes perfect, but in numberless instances of insect and animal life we see perfection without practice. This something which we call instinct is a necessary element in the animal constitution, an impulsion existing in living organisms which contributes to their life, their enjoyment, their reproduction. What the brutes do they do spontaneously, "without deliberation, and without having any end in view." The acts which this impulse prompts them to perform are highly reasonable, but they are not the result of any ratiocinative process. Instinct is but the *nexus* through which the all-presiding Reason effectuates the beneficent purpose of the animal economy.

Instinct is incapable of improvement. Its basis is not intellectual, but emotional. In this respect an impassable gulf exists between the human and the brute species. The young of both commence life under somewhat similar conditions, but a difference speedily appears. The animal exhibits an activity and an aptitude, whilst the child remains in utter helplessness. The offspring of the former shows a decided superiority over that of the latter; but the child soon evinces the possession of a higher nature. There exists a capacity, in kind and degree, which the other lacks. There are faculties inherent in the babe which are wanting in the brute. By experience, by experiment, by subordinating the external world to his interests, the human being can advance along a path that shineth more and more unto the perfect day; but the mere animal does not, and cannot, get beyond the circle in which Providence has fixed it. It is bound to its fate by a line hard and fast. Some have asserted the possibility that an insignificant insect or reptile may, in the lapse of ages, develop into a man. If the animal can grow into the human, then the man may possibly become a god. There may be as good ground for supposing that the human can develop into the Divine, as that the brute can reach perfect manhood. With but slight variations, natural life is now as it ever has been. Capacity for advancement does not inhere therein, and therefore cannot be developed. If it is not in as a constitutional element, it cannot be brought out. Animals do not arrive at an object by a tentative process, but rush to it at once, ignorant of its nature, and utterly regardless of consequences. With few exceptions, birds build their nests, lay their eggs, rear their young, employ the same means of defence, and adopt the same practices

to procure food; spiders weave their webs, butterflies make provision for their offspring, bees build their cells, ants erect their houses, and beavers construct their dams, just as they have done, and probably just as they will ever do.

> "Reason progressive, instinct is complete.
> Swift instinct leaps; slow reason feebly climbs.
> Brutes soon their zenith reach; their little all
> Flows in at once; in ages they no more
> Could know, or do, or covet, or enjoy."

Instinct adapts itself to circumstances. Coleridge says that instinct "is a power of selecting and applying appropriate means to an immediate end according to circumstances, and the change of circumstances." A power that can estimate "appropriate means," that can select and apply such means, must be connected with, or be regulated by, reason. Only *mind* can select and apply. If instinct be but a "blind instrumentality," how are we to account for the "highly-wrought intellectual result?" Some of these results surpass human productions wrought up through a long and varied experience. In some instances the creature exhibits a higher intellectual capacity than man does. The results indicate the presence of mind of a very high order. Does this mind or mentality belong to the brute? If so, does it not imply moral accountability, and does it not prove its equality or superiority to man? We opine that in the creation of such "highly-wrought intellectual results," instinct is but a "blind instrumentality"—that it constitutes but the channel through which the Divine wisdom and goodness flow—that this knowledge of dynamics, this acquaintance with the principles of architecture, this application of mathematical law, is but the Divine Mind manifesting itself through creatural instrumentality. Through some cause a hive loses the queen bee. If there are no royal larvæ left, the bees, we are told, select neuter eggs, and instead of producing neuter bees, as ordinarily, they produce queens. This marvellous change is supposed to be effected by putting the larvæ of the neuter bee into a different cell, by raising the temperature, and by feeding the young on a different kind of food. The wonder lies not so much in the change thus effected in the neuter egg (insomuch as neuter bees are understood to be undeveloped females); but the wonder consists in this, that the bees should possess such a power as to know the when, and the how, such astonishing results are reached. A writer in one of our popular serials designates this process as evidential of knowledge and intellect of the highest kind. The result above-mentioned is justified by the highest reason: for if the bees were incapable of providing against such an emergency, beedom would often suffer serious depopulation. But do the bees produce such a result of, and by, themselves? Are they not rather

prompted and directed by the unerring wisdom of God? Is it possible that they reason as we do, that they contrast and compare, deducing inferences from analogy and experience, and, after having decided on the course to be pursued, carry out their arrangements so orderly and efficiently? This cannot be seriously maintained. Goldsmith records a remarkable incident. A goose was set with eggs in a kitchen. After having sat a number of days, she left the nest and went to an outbuilding, where a young goose was kept. She brought her juvenile friend with her into the kitchen. The young goose, as if knowing the exigence of the case, flew on to the nest, and hatched the brood, whilst the old one sank down at the side and expired.

Instinct, though varied in its manifestations, is one and indivisible. Its operations are diversified and marked by distinct phenomena; yet they spring from one and the same source. The kind is the same, though manifesting itself under different forms and conditions. THERE ARE THE SEXUAL AND PARENTAL TENDENCIES. Some naturalists speak of monogamous and polygamous birds. There are doubtless instances in which a bird has shown the most commendable affection and fidelity to its mate. After the process of love, courtship, and marriage is ended, some animals cleave to each other with a fidelity which may shame their betters. In certain creatures a wonderful forecast or prevision for the future exists—a prevision as certain and as well adapted to the ends of animal life as that which is made for the birth of an heir among men. Some insects deposit their eggs amongst the hair of animals, others perforate the skin, and thus the brute unconsciously vivifies millions of happy creatures. Others perform a surgical operation on trees by which the juices are diverted, and become tributary to the protection and nourishment of the embryo. The butterfly lives upon juices extracted from flowers; but it attaches its eggs to such plants as will afford them nourishment not in a winged but in a caterpillar state. Had the butterfly deposited the ova on the flowers, the juices of which yield it the required food, we could have felt no surprise; but it provides for its offspring in a state of existence different from its own. It selects the proper kind of plant, and the right side of the leaf, and though it never knows its progeny, it acts towards them with tender solicitude and unerring skill. As Paley observes, "There is an abstract anxiety for the general preservation of the species, a kind of patriotism; a solicitude lest the butterfly race should cease from the creation."

GREGARIOUSNESS. Rapacious animals live somewhat solitary lives. If the carnivora herded together the equilibrium of the animal economy could be disturbed by the destruction of the inoffensive species. The larger proportion of the animal kingdom live

together in flocks, in herds, in droves, and in shoals. Like seeks like. Birds of a feather flock together. Does this living together arise from a social feeling, or from a sense of danger? Probably it is the the result of both. We are aware that the gratification of this gregarious feeling exposes creatures to greater dangers and renders them an easier prey; still, as far as we can judge, the fact of multitude imparts to them a sense of security and enjoyment.

SELF-DEFENCE. Creature life is surrounded by innumerable perils, and did not nature possess a marvellous fecundity, some races would speedily be extirpated. Suppose a ferret had never seen a rat, and *vice versa*, the probability is that as soon as they are put together, they would wage war to the death. This aversion cannot be the result of instruction or experience. The first sight that the horse gets of the forest king makes him tremble. Let a wolf come in contact with a dog, a kitten with a mouse, a spider with a fly, and though each may have been utterly ignorant of the other, a feeling of deadly hate is at once awakened. A striking instance is recorded in the "British Workman" for May, 1873. Whilst a female bird and her young occupied a nest, a venomous snake was making its way towards the tree in which the nest was built. The male bird fluttered over the nest and uttered cries of anguish. He departed, and was seen bearing a little twig in his mouth covered with leaves. This twig was laid over his mate and her brood, and then he withdrew to the topmost branch of the tree to await the arrival of the enemy. The snake reached the spot, and lifting its head as if to take its victims by surprise, drew suddenly back, as if it had been shot, and hurried down the tree. On examining the cause which had frustrated such a malicious purpose, the twig was found to have been broken from a poisonous bush which the snake was never known to approach. "Not one of them is forgotten before God."

MIGRATORINESS.—Were it not for their roving tendency, many species of birds would perish in these higher latitudes, and we should be utter strangers to their presence and their song. They are not endowed with so robust a constitution, nor is their coating sufficiently thick and warm to resist the rigours of a Borean winter. This wandering disposition seems superior to reason. To a young swallow there is *prima facie* evidence that the richness, the abundance, the geniality of autumn will continue. If a juvenile sparrow could think, it might charge the cuckoo with the most egregious folly in deserting the beautiful hedges, and limpid streams, the fruitful gardens and bounteous orchards by which it is surrounded, and in which it revels, to take a long and perilous journey to a far-off and. Reason would say, Stay: instinct says, No. These vagrant birds become uneasy. As the season advances they indicate a desire to migrate to other climes. Something appears to

intimate to them that the condition of things will be so changed as to be inimical to their welfare. Without any medical advisers, they seek the balmy south, and return invigorated to their wonted haunts, to enjoy the pleasures and to discharge the duties of life. Whether this feeling of uneasiness is stimulated by external changes, we cannot say; its existence and exercise shadow forth the presence and care of Him whose tender mercies are over all his works.

CONSTRUCTIVENESS.—In this respect the spider is remarkable. It is both a producer and a fabricator. It can both spin and weave. For strength, for delicateness, for completeness of work, no Lancashire artizan can equal it. In the construction of its cell the bee adopts the hexagonal form. A square cell, or a triangular cell, or a circular cell would not have answered the purpose; weakness, or loss of space would have been the result. The six-sided cell combines the square and the circle, economises room, and unites strength with elegance. The wall by which the comb is divided into halves is no less peculiar for shape and utility. For thousands of years the bee has proceeded according to some of the most profound mathematical principles, and has applied them to the everyday purposes of life with the greatest facility and success. The ant is to be admired for its building skill, and for the provision which it makes to survive the severity of winter. *Ants* constitute a colony of soldiers. Their house is a fortress, *well* built, protected, and provisioned. On account of its skill and anticipatory arrangements the ant is held up as a rebuke and example to the sluggard. The manner in which the beaver constructs its dam is in harmony with mechanical laws, and may teach the engineer how to present the greatest resistance to hydraulic force. The architectural ingenuity which these creatures display is only conceivable on the supposition that they are but the instruments through which an all-wise and all-gracious God accomplishes such highly wrought intellectual results.

And is human nature destitute of instinct? Call it desire, power, bias, tendency, &c., such a thing comes into the world with us, and is interwoven with the texture of our being. In the course of our readings we meet with such expressions as, a primitive and fundamental sense, moral instincts, instinctive beliefs, unmistakable human craving, instinctive decencies of social life. Do these phrases mean nothing? Do they hold in solution no fact? Beneath the shell does no kernel exist? We hold that they contain a deep and pregnant truth—that at the very basis of human nature lie such tendencies or cravings, which are best articulated by the term instinct, and which are spontaneous, necessary, universal. Self-preservation, love, parentage, liberty, happiness, immortality, God; these are some of the objects to

which instinct is directed in man, and in the attainment of which it realises its lawful and complete satisfaction. Instinct in the animal is blind, impulsive, often irresistible; instinct in man is under the government of reason. Without such tendencies it is questionable whether man could fulfil life's duties or attain to a higher spiritual condition. They constitute the germs from which untold blessings spring. Let these activities be penetrated by God's grace, and be regulated by an enlightened reason, and they will urge us in a career of truth, of purity, and of blessedness.

T. P.

ART. VI.—APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

POPERY is a consummate scheme of priestly arrogancy, inimical to freedom of thought, to the expression of independent opinion, to social advancement, and to the political liberties of nations. It is an ecclesiastical system of the direst tyranny; enforcing at all times, when circumstances and opportunities permit, by excommunication and confiscation, by fire and sword, and by the dread anathemas of eternal perdition, the dogma—that there is no salvation beyond the pale of the Roman Catholic Church. Rome's priests have assumed the lofty eminence of being the successors of Jesus and his apostles, and of possessing Divine power to absolve from sin all such as become the recipients of rites and sacraments administered by them; and none else but those whom they absolve shall stand acquitted before the bar of God. Apostolic succession is, therefore, the foundation on which rests that gigantic system of iniquity prophetically designated THE MAN OF SIN. This dogma of apostolic succession is thus defined:—"Jesus gave to his apostles, but especially to Peter as their Prince, the power of absolution. Peter transmitted this power to the Bishop of Rome, who in subsequent ages was designated *the Pope*, and vicegerent of Christ on earth, and the successor of Peter. The Pope communicated this power of absolution to his successors in the Papal chair, and to the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and all other ecclesiastics in connexion with the see of Rome." Salvation is by enactment restricted to the administration of the sacraments by the clerics whose ordination is within this line of apostolic succession. The atonement of Christ possesses no efficacy to redeem men, save as its merits are applied by the rites of the Romish Church administered by her priests.

This antichristian doctrine is also avowed, and its prerogatives

claimed by the high dignitaries of the Protestant Episcopal Church. They affirm they can trace for their clergy, through a series of historic persons, a succession from Christ to the present time. Archbishop Laud is the reputed father of this arrogant assumption. Bishop Jeremy Taylor, in his "Episcopacy Asserted," and the authors of the "Oxford Tracts," have maintained and defended apostolic succession as a tenet of the Protestant prelatic Church. These writers aver the superiority of bishops to the other clergy; that by a Divine appointment prelates are invested with power, authority, and rights peculiar to themselves, and wholly incompatible with presbyters; that no ministry is valid that has not prelatic ordination; and that all sacraments are void which have not been administered by Episcopally ordained functionaries. Further, that ordination and sacraments administered by "succession bishops," no matter how wicked, are valid and divine. The maintenance of this tenet accounts in part for the bigotry, exclusiveness, and intolerance of the Protestant Episcopal Church towards Dissenters, and is the germ of that strong tendency ever evinced by our State Church to fraternize with the See of Rome. This arrogant dogma is unsupported by the testimony of Scripture or of history.

I. By an Appeal to Scripture we are justified in maintaining that Prelatic-bishops are not the successors of the apostles. First—*They do not possess the gifts and qualifications of the apostles.* The apostles were chosen by Christ to testify to the facts of his life, to the doctrine which he taught, and to his death and resurrection. This is evident from Peter's declaration of the necessary qualifications to be possessed by the candidate who was to succeed Judas in his apostleship. He must, for example, have "companied" with the disciples all the time the Lord Jesus went in and out amongst them, from the baptism of John unto the day that Christ was taken up into heaven; and thus be a witness of his resurrection. Acts i. 21, 22. Paul proves his apostleship in the following manner: (1). By Christ's immediate appointment of him to the sacred office. (2) By his receiving through the special revelation of Jesus the doctrines of the gospel, Gal. i. 12; 1 Cor. xi. 23. (3). By his having seen Christ after his resurrection, 1 Cor. ix. 1. (4). He was an inspired and an infallible teacher, so that men were bound to receive his teaching as the personal declarations of Christ himself, 1 Cor. xiv. 37. (5). His apostleship was attested by Christ, and evinced by his working "the signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds" peculiar to the apostolic office, 2 Cor. xii. 12. These facts prove that the apostolic office, from its very nature, was incapable of being transmitted to future ages, or perpetuated in the church. Modern prelates in the Romish and Anglican churches do not possess the gifts and credentials of *this office.* They derive no knowledge from immediate revelation.

They are not the subjects of special inspiration. They have no miraculous visions of the person of Christ, as the apostles had. They possess not the gifts of miracles. But all these were essential qualifications of the apostles, by which they were enabled to discharge the duties of their sacred and *unique* office. Modern prelates cannot, therefore, be their successors. If the Pope and the Anglican hierarchy are invested with apostolic dignity and authority, let them prove their pretensions by exhibiting the gifts and qualifications on which the authority of the office is based. These they do not possess. Hence their claim to apostolic succession is one of the greatest impositions ever palmed upon the world. It would be as reasonable for a man to declare that he was a prophet, whilst destitute of the gift of prophecy; or to affirm that he was a miracle-worker, though he never had the power to work a miracle; or for a man born blind to allege that he could distinguish colours, as for Popes and Bishops to aver that they are the successors of the apostles, invested with apostolic power and authority, whilst they are confessedly *destitute of apostolic gifts and qualifications.*

Secondly.—*The distinction of rank amongst the clergy is unscriptural.* The New Testament knows nothing of the office of bishop being superior to that of the Elder or Presbyter. The following considerations prove that the terms *Pastor*, *Bishop*, and *Elder* or *Presbyter* are used promiscuously in Scripture to designate the same office, and hence an equality of officers:—

1. *Elder*, PRESBUTEROS; and *bishop*, EPISKOPOS, are employed in Acts xx. 17, 28, to designate the *pastors*, POIMENES, who were appointed by the Holy Ghost to feed the flock of God.

2. *Episkopos* is never used in the New Testament to signify the *oversight over* MINISTERS, but *only over* the FLOCK of Christ. Acts xx. 28; 1 Peter v. 2, 3. Bishops are consequently not superior to *Presbyters* or *Elders.*

3. Bishops and Elders have the *same qualifications*; hence their identity of office and rank. See Titus i. 5-7.; 1 Tim. iii. 1-7.

4. These texts compared with 1 Tim. v. 17, prove that bishops and presbyters have the same *duties*, the same *power*, and the same *authority.*

5. Presbyters only are expressly declared to ordain, (1 Tim. iv. 14). In connection with ordination the term bishop is not used in Scripture, showing clearly that the Holy Spirit by anticipation refutes the dogma of Prelatic ordination. The claim of episcopacy to restrict the administration of this rite to prelates is destitute of Scripture proof.

6. Elders or presbyters are mentioned as uniting with the apostles in their deliberations in the Council at Jerusalem; but there is no mention of bishops, as a distinct class of ecclesiastical

officers, having been present. (Acts xv. 2, 4, 6.) It is evident that if bishops are a superior order of clergy, they were certain to be present at such an important council, as well as the inferior order of presbyters; yet the inspired historian makes no reference to the presence of their *lordships*, though he refers to the presence of "the elders and brethren." It is worthy of remark in passing, that this Council at Jerusalem furnishes no model for the "Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation." The Scriptures carefully guard against anything that might be construed to countenance this anti-Christian distinction. The apostles sometimes called themselves *elders* (1 Pet. v. 1, 2), but never bishops. The only officers mentioned in the Church at Philippi are "bishops and deacons." These bishops could not be diocesan prelates, for this church possessed more than one dignitary; they were mere *pastors*.

From an impartial consideration of the foregoing texts we learn that the men who wrote under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost apply the terms *pastor*, *bishop*, and *elder* to ministers of the gospel indiscriminately. Hence the bishop is not a person superior to the presbyter; and he does not possess any peculiar prerogative not equally possessed by every elder. Episcopacy is an innovation on the church government established by the apostles; and prelates are not in the line of Apostolic Succession.

Thirdly.—The claim of Anglican prelatic bishops to the sole right and power to ordain and confirm is *inconsistent with the doctrines of their Church, and an apparent absurdity*. Protestant Episcopal divines admit that, under the gospel dispensation, there are but two sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. These in their nature are of greater importance than Ordination and Confirmation, two inferior rites, not exalted in the Anglican Church to the dignity of sacraments. Now, every Anglican priest is invested with the power to administer the sacraments. Ordination is *less* important than a sacrament. He that has power and authority to perform the greater rite should have power and authority to perform the less; for the distinction amongst the clergy, and the restrictions of the functions of the presbyter, have no sanction in the church polity established in the New Testament. But the Articles of the Protestant Episcopal Church declare—"The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required by any man that it should be believed as an article of faith," &c. It is, therefore, inconsistent with the doctrines of Protestant Episcopacy to deny the power of the clergy to ordain and confirm, who confessedly have the power to administer the higher ordinances—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

What is Confirmation? It is defined to be "A certain perfecting of Baptism, the candidate taking upon himself the vows of his sponsors, and the bishop, by the imposition of his hands upon the head of the candidate, imparting increased measures of the Holy Ghost." This rite is not only destitute of Scripture proof, but it was repudiated by the early Protestant Reformers. Melancthon designates it, "An idle ceremony." Calvin, in his "Institutes," says:—"The bishops, pretending to impart the Holy Spirit in Confirmation, invalidate Baptism itself, and they are but APES OF THE APOSTLES. The rite is the devil's false promise to draw us away from the promises of God." The Waldenses, in their noble protest against Popery, declare that "Confirmation was not instituted by Christ or His apostles." And Wycliffe—"the Morning Star of the glorious Reformation"—held that "it would be more devout, and more conformable to Scripture, *to deny* that the bishops gave the Holy Spirit in Confirmation, than to maintain they gave it." The bishops should prove their claim to the possession of their peculiar prerogative, as the apostles proved theirs, by working miracles, and by imparting to those on whom they lay their hands the supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit. If they cannot adduce such necessary proof, they should at once abandon a claim which exposes Christianity to contempt in the eyes of every unprejudiced rational being, and is a gross insult to all other ministers. It is a soul-destroying doctrine. Multitudes of young unconverted persons are led to believe, upon the bishop's solemn declaration, that in Confirmation they have received from the "Almighty and everlasting God forgiveness of all their sins." And even many good people are entangled by such declarations. The daring presumption is only equalled by the blasphemous arrogancy of the Pope himself.

Our Lord rebuked the ambition of those apostles who sought to be invested with princely rank and honours in his kingdom. He showed they were all brethren on a perfect equality, and that true humility and distinction for loving services constituted true greatness, and promoted the lowliest servant to the loftiest dignity. Episcopal government is, then, diametrically opposed to this great principle of Christ's kingdom. The allegations that no ministry is valid, and all ordinations and sacraments are void that are not administered by men prelatically ordained are shivered into atoms by the talisman of truth. Everyone possessed of the qualifications of a bishop as delineated in Scripture is a true Scriptural bishop, and has a valid right to administer the ordinances as Christ delivered them. These qualifications are—personal piety; an unblameable life; knowledge of the Gospel; and ability to teach it to others. "A bishop must be blameless as the steward of God; not self-willed; not soon angry, not given to wine, no striker,

not given to filthy lucre: but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate: holding fast the faithful word, as he has been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers." "All the authority on earth," says the late Dr. Alexander Carson, "could not make a man a bishop who does not possess the qualifications required in Scripture."

Archdeacon Mason, in his "Defence of the Church of England Ministry," avers "That neither heresy, nor degradation from the office of a bishop, nor schism, nor most extreme wickedness (quamvis enim viri essent omnium scelleratissimi, page 178) can deprive a person once made a bishop of the power of giving true orders." When will evangelical men within the pale of the Anglican Church cease to be allied to an ecclesiastical organization that propagates such sentiments? "Unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes; or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth." Psalm l. 16. He who ordains a wicked man to the ministry is a traitor to God and the Church of Christ. Paul directs Timothy in reference to the doctrines which he had been taught to "commit the same to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." 2 Tim. ii. 2. The office of the Christian ministry implies that the minister is himself a Christian. The Scriptures enjoin that we forsake all ministers whose character and doctrines are not in harmony with the "form of sound words." Paul designates false teachers, "false apostles, ministers of Satan, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ." It is not on the ground of their not having an ordination in the line of Apostolic succession that they are thus designated; but because of their handling the "word of God deceitfully." In the epistle to the Galatians, all preachers, no matter what ordination they possess, who corrupt the word of God are pronounced "accursed." "Even an angel from heaven," if engaged in "preaching another Gospel," would not escape the direful judgment of this withering anathema. They are, therefore, not schismatics who withdraw from the fellowship of churches that make void the law of God by their traditions. They are only yielding loyal obedience to the authoritative mandates of Zion's King: "If any man consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness; FROM SUCH WITHDRAW THYSELF." 1 Tim. iii., 3—5. Hence the validity of the ordination, and the Scripturalness of the office of ministry are proved from the truth of the doctrine preached and the holiness of the life of the preacher, and not from any alleged connexion with the line of APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

The term *Priest*, by which the ministers of the Anglican Church are designated in the book of Common Prayer, is unscriptural.

The Gospel minister is not so called in the New Testament. He is designated *pastor*, *bishop*, or *elder*, but never (HIEREUS) *priest*. And our excellent translators have correctly and uniformly observed the distinction of the terms in all their renderings from the original Greek. Every candid scholar knows that the Greek word HIEREUS, rendered *priest*, is not the contraction of PRESBUTEROS, the term rendered *elder*. The advocates of Apostolic succession refer to the Levitical priesthood as proof by analogy of the distinction of the clerical orders established in the Prelatic Church. A comparison between the rank and offices of the Old Testament priesthood and the New Testament Gospel ministry is never drawn in Scripture. There is not a single text in the whole Bible which gives the least hint that such a likeness or analogy does exist or was intended to exist. If God designed the priesthood of the former dispensation to be an exact pattern of the ministry of the Christian dispensation, is it not most unaccountable that the Scriptures are silent upon the subject? But there is really no parallel between the Jewish and the Episcopal Hierarchy. The former is proved in the Epistle to the Hebrews to be typical of Christ. Is the typical character of the latter so proved? The office of High Priest was restricted to one family; and was transmitted through successive generations by an unbroken line of succession. There is in this no parallel to the office of the hundreds of metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, who do not transmit their mitres to their sons. The offering of sacrifice is an essential element in priesthood; but there is no order of men set apart in the Christian Church to offer sacrifices. The sacrifices of the Jewish priesthood were typical of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice. "By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." All believers are said to be constituted "a royal priesthood" to "offer "spiritual sacrifices," but this declaration makes no distinction between clergy and laity. The Gospel minister is not invested with sacerdotal power and rank to absolve from sin, or to convey sacramental grace to the souls of men. To inculcate this is to corrupt the organisation of the New Testament Church; to take away Christ from Christianity; and to conduct us back to Judaism. If there be any soundness in the argument of Ritualistic Protestants from the alleged analogy between the priesthood of the Jews and the Christian ministry, it is much more in favour of the Papal than the Protestant Episcopal Hierarchy; for the former in the person of their sovereign Pontiff preserves a feature of the Jewish High Priest which the latter does not possess, and hence the fabric of Roman superstition stands forth in solitary magnificence.

II. THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY DISPROVES THE DOGMA OF APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.—We shall give but a few quotations

out of a countless number which might be adduced in support of this proposition.

1. In Bingham's edition of "The Works of Jerome"—a Christian Father who lived about A.D. 390—we read, in his note on Titus i. 5-7: "Presbyters and Bishops were formerly the same, and before the Devil incited men to make divisions in religion, and one was led to say, 'I am of Paul, and I of Apollos,' churches were governed by the common council of the Presbytery; but afterwards, when everyone in baptizing rather made proselytes to himself than to Christ, it was everywhere decided that one person elected from the rest of the Presbyters in each church should be placed over the others, that the chief care of the church devolving upon him, the seeds of division might be taken away. That the roots of dissension might be plucked up a USAGE GRADUALLY TOOK PLACE, viz., that the chief care should devolve on one. Therefore, as the presbyters know that it is by a custom of the Church that they are to be subject to him who is placed over them; so let the bishops know that they are above the presbyters rather by custom than by Divine appointment; and that the Church ought to be ruled in common." This testimony of Jerome was introduced into the Canon Law in the twelfth century, and the Protestant Reformers frequently referred to it with approbation.

Tertullian, A.D. 200, in his reply to the heretics of his time, says: "Immediately after the day of Pentecost the twelve apostles, first having preached the Faith to the churches throughout Judæa, then went into the whole world publishing the very same doctrine of the Faith to the nations of the earth. Churches were established by the apostles, from which churches the 'succession of Faith' and the seeds of doctrines were derived to other churches to give them existence; and by this process these succeeding churches will be esteemed apostolic churches." This father now proves that it is not ordination by apostolic succession, but the possession of the doctrines of the Faith once delivered to the saints, that constitutes an apostolic church. In his "De-Baptismo" he urges the presbyters and laity "to submit humbly to the ecclesiastical regulations, in their being obedient to the bishops, as emulation is the mother of division." These admissions of the Fathers show they held, that the superiority of bishops was an unscriptural and merely human device.

2. The English Reformers who compiled the first constitution of the Episcopal State Church, maintained that the offices of bishop and presbyter were identical. Bishop Burnett (History of the Reformation) says, "In the document called 'A Declaration of the functions and Divine Institutions of Bishops and Priests,' bishop and priest are spoken of as the same office." The Book of Ordination, compiled in the reign of Edward the Sixth, makes no

difference in the words ordaining a Bishop so as to distinguish his office as superior to that of Presbyter. Cranmer, the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury, says, "The bishops and priests were at one time not two but one office, in the beginning of Christ's religion." This distinction of ranks amongst the clergy was first officially announced under royal authority in the Prayer-book issued in the year 1662, by Charles the Second. The modern phrase, "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons" from that date superseded the former one—"Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers." The first Episcopal Reformers appointed presbyters to co-operate with the prelates in the ordination of presbyters now designated priests, by the imposition of their hands. The original directory for ordination enjoins, "When this prayer is done, the bishops with the priests present shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth the order of Priesthood." And hundreds of ministers who had been ordained by presbyters alone without the presence of any bishops were confirmed in their livings as true ministers of the Church of England, by Acts of Parliament in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles the Second. Neil's History of the Puritans, vol. i., records a licence by Archbishop Grindall approving and ratifying the form of ordination by a Scotch Presbytery in the case of Mr. Morrison, a Scotch Presbyter, giving him commission "through the whole Diocese of Canterbury to celebrate divine offices, to minister sacraments," &c.

Dr. John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, speaking of the Presbyterian ordination of the French Protestant Churches, says, "That any time a minister so ordained in these French churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls amongst us in the Church of England, our bishops did not re-ordain him before they admitted him to his charge, as they must have done if his former ordination in France had been void. Nor did our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received amongst us, and to subscribe the articles established." These citations from the writings of the Fathers of the English Episcopal Reformation clearly prove that the present enactments of our State Church, which affirm that the bishop is superior to the presbyter; that the bishop *alone* has the *sole right* to ordain; and that ministers from other Protestant denominations who may seek connection with the Episcopal church must first be re-ordained by a Prelate before permitted to officiate in their consecrated buildings, or enter upon a cure of souls, are innovations upon the ancient constitution of the Protestant Established Church, and in the judgment of the Reformers are unscriptural enactments. The numerous apostasies from the State Church communion of both her clergy and laity, the strenuous efforts of so many of her clergy to have the Confessional intro-

duced into their worship, a desire to have monastic orders organised amongst the people, and the vast numbers that either swell the crowds of Romish pilgrims or sympathise with the movement, all lamentably attest that the Protestant Episcopal Church is but a bridge by which nominal Protestants can easily pass over to Rome. It is the dogma of Apostolic Succession and its cognate theories that have produced those heart-rending results. How long will Protestant Dissenters quietly submit to be forcibly taxed to maintain legalised Popery under the mask of State Protestantism?

3. But if the Succession tenet were even Scriptural, its existence cannot be historically proved. The chain has been frequently broken, and several of the links are wanting. The Irish Episcopal Church assumes her clergy have an unbroken succession through St. Patrick up to the apostles, quite independent of the ordination claimed by the English bishops. In my paper "Ireland Past and Present," which appeared in the May number of the AMBASSADOR, it is shown that St. Patrick had no connection with the See of Rome, and that the only ordination which his successors received was solely derived from himself. The interval between the apostles and St. Patrick was about *four hundred years*. Of what value are the strong assertions of Churchmen in the face of this stern historic fact? Prosper of Aquataine, a writer of the fifth century, states that the first bishop sent to Scotia—the name by which Ireland was then called—was Palladius, ordained by Pope Celestine, and instructed to bring the churches planted by St. Patrick into subjection to the Roman Pontiff. Bede, himself a Romanist, in his "History of the Eighth Century," and John Fordun, a priest who wrote about A.D. 1370, quote and sanction the testimony of Prosper. Fordun says:—"Before the coming of Palladius the Scots (*i.e.*, the Irish) had as teachers of the faith and administrators of the sacraments only presbyters, following the custom of the primitive churches." Dr. Mason acknowledges that the title *Archbishop* was not known in Ireland till the eighth century. Thomas Moore, the Irish Catholic poet, in his "History of Ireland," says:—"Whatever preachers of the faith, foreign or native, might have appeared in Ireland, it seems certain that before this period no hierarchy had been then instituted, but that in Palladius the Irish Christians saw their first bishop." Archbishop Usher fixes the date of Palladius's settlement in 431, A.D. Now, supposing the Irish Episcopal clergy could produce the names of the several bishops who existed in the several Irish sees from Palladius till the present time, how is the succession line to be proved during the first four centuries of the Christian era? Further, the above quotations demonstrate that their ordination and succession are derived from the Pope, and not from Hibernia's great missionary, St. Patrick.

The succession chain is also broken in connection with the English Episcopal Church. Bede affirms that Aidan, who was sent as first bishop into England, was ordained by Scottish presbyters; and that several other English bishops were ordained in the seventh century after the "same fashion." Archbishop Usher, in his "Discourse on the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British," chap, x., says:—"The Scottish churches, that professed no subjection to the see of Rome, were they that sent preachers for the conversion of the kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia, &c.; and ordained bishops to govern them; namely, Aidan, Finan, and Coleman." In chapter ix. of this "Discourse," Usher describes Coleman as metropolitan bishop of York, who stated in the Synod of Streansheal, in A.D. 664:—"This Easter, which I am accustomed to observe, I received from my elders who sent me bishop hither." Dr. Jamieson, in his "Ancient Culdees," cites the Saxon Chronicle under the year 560, which expressly states:—"Thenceforth there ought always to be in Iona, or II, an abbot, but no bishop." Bede shows that these abbots were ELDERS, not monks or bishops in the ecclesiastical sense in which these terms are now understood. These historic facts prove that Episcopal ordination, for which Romanists and Anglicans contend, has no connection whatever with the apostolic age. Bede, a staunch prelatist, admits that, with one exception only, there was not "in all Britain a single bishop canonically ordained; that the Episcopal sees in England could only trace their ordination to elders in Scotland, who had no connection with the Episcopacy of Rome." Apostolic Succession is historically false, and the arrogant pretensions of Churchmen are based upon ignorance of both Scripture and history. Protestant Episcopalians are forced to receive this figment of "succession" through the polluted channel of Papal abominations, the moral filth of which is more detestable and noxious than the effluvia of the turbid waters of the Tiber.

(I may return to this subject in my next paper.)

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ART. VIII.—ZWINGLE, IN HIS RELATIONS TO LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION.

BY DR. RITSCHL, OF GÖTTINGEN,

Translated from the German by the Rev. JOHN WATSON.

IN the earlier history of our nation (Germany), the period of the Reformation is still the most important epoch. If even we regard the issue of this enterprise for the Church and the German

nation, partly with but moderate satisfaction, and partly with grief, we always go back with peculiar interest to the primitive form of the Reformation. For never was a public undertaking so accompanied with, and sustained by, the sympathy of the entire German nation and all its classes; to no previous event of German history does the impression so cleave, that the nation then laid hold of a great question, as one specially belonging to itself. For the union of the German tribes through the royal house of the Carolingians and the following dynasties, was partly effected by force, and partly connected from the beginning with the strange and fantastic subject of the Roman imperial system. And as the result of this policy was, that even at the beginning of the 16th century the Empire was only a loose agglomeration of numerous independent territories, whose power of resisting foreign attacks was extremely weak; there coincided with it also a relation to the Romish Church, in which the nation felt less the conservation of its spiritual possessions than the exhaustion of its material resources by a foreign and selfish power.

At the same time, but quite independently of one another, two men appeared in the field, who opened, by means of the spiritual liberation of the nation from the supremacy of Rome, the prospect of a revival of the national life through the primitive doctrines of Christianity—Luther in Wittenburg, Zwingle in Zurich. For *the* national significance of this phenomenon it is not necessary to consider that the Swiss Confederacy had shortly before severed its political connection with the Empire. The Alemannic stock, to which Zwingle belonged, is not less German than the Thuringian, from which Luther sprang; and the imperial cities of Upper Germany, which followed for a long time the impulse of Zwingle's reform, were not on that account conscious of subjecting themselves to a foreign power. The two reformers declared with wonderful harmony, without having learnt them from one another, those fundamental religious principles, namely, that only Divine grace through faith is the foundation and condition of the saving fellowship of the individual with God, and that the community of the Church consists, independently of every hierarchical order, just in the community of the faith, which is established and maintained by the constant proclamation of the grace of God through the mediation of Jesus Christ. It is necessary always to keep in view this harmony, and the independence of the two men in the acquisition of those doctrines, together with their right logical bearing upon the corresponding elements of the faith of the Western Church, in order to get, with the remaining differences in what they effected, an impression of the richness and fulness which *appear* upon both points. The two men did not, it is true, *manifest* in all subordinate respects their essential harmony; in

certain things they did not understand each other; and their undecided dispute respecting the signification of the Lord's Supper has had the effect of preventing the two similar springs of the Reformation uniting in one stream. But this is just the blessing of a conscientious historical enquiry, which neither conceals nor exaggerates, but which perceives the causes of the dissimilarity of the two men, that one learns to understand the characteristics of each man, and, therefore, from insight into his peculiar sphere, acquires a generous respect for his greatness. I cannot but emphasize this, because Church history is too often degraded to the service of ecclesiastical or theological party-zeal, the rule of which may be expressed by the formula:—"Because thou art otherwise than I am, thou art not as good as I am." And especially has a correct and just historical representation to make amends to Zwingle for what he has had to suffer in misconstruction and disparagement among Lutherans from the time of Luther and Melancthon unto the present.

It is very conceivable that one should endeavour to understand Zwingle by comparing him with Luther, because the latter stands nearer to us than the former, and we German Protestants live in an ecclesiastical connexion, which is dependent upon Luther, and in which we are conscious of having received nothing from Zwingle. Now, the fundamental difference between the two men consisted in this circumstance: that the sphere of life—the Reformation of the Church—to which they devoted their energy, had for each man a very different extent. Luther, it is well known, was led by a theological dispute respecting the regulation of the Catholic sacrament of penance, in gradually unsought progress, to a different scheme of the doctrines and institutions of Christianity, from what had hitherto prevailed in the Church; and received from this the impulse to maintain this altered doctrine which had really always been authorised, but had been repressed by abuses and perverted methods of instruction, as the rule for the *universal* Church. Hence he aimed at reforming the whole Church, at least within its western limits; and this extensive design made his animating action possible in all countries, even in France, Spain, and Italy. The work of the Lutheran Reformation was, however, only able to gain this universal extent, because Luther set to himself on another side a very definite limit. He refrained entirely from all direct interference with the social state of things, and the particular moral rules of life, believing that incitement to right belief, and restoration to religious health, would be followed, as a necessary consequence, by reformation of the practical life. Though he repeatedly expressed himself publicly upon particular social evils—for example, the complications of matrimonial laws, and the state of money transactions and trade—it was always in the form

of moral counsels, in which he endeavoured to enlighten the community on the moral and Christian manner of regulating such things. He never claimed, however, as the reformer of the Church, to be called to legislate upon the relations of civil life. In so far, indeed, as his purification of Christian doctrine and worship could only be securely settled by definite institutions, he carried his caution so far as to wait for years for the authorised organs, the bishops, following his instructions; and he still maintained this view, even when he felt himself forced to ask the assistance of the Elector of Saxony for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs in his immediate neighbourhood.

Zwingle is, on the contrary, in the design of his Reform, and in the propagation of it, precisely the reverse. From the beginning he aimed at the reformation of the moral state of things within the narrow bounds of his native country, and in quite a peculiar respect. The Swiss had not long before victoriously repelled the last threatening of their independence by the Duke of Burgundy, and were now employing their surplus strength as mercenary troops in the service of the neighbouring princes, especially the King of France, the Duke of Milan, and the Pope. Prominent military chiefs received likewise in times of peace large pensions from these powers, that they might be ready, in case of necessity, to obtain for their employers the requisite levies for war. As at that time war was principally carried on for the sake of plunder—as the profession of war engaged all classes of the people, and was waged not in the service of the country, but for quick and violent gain, which did not incite to economy, but dissipation, it may be imagined how it demoralised the whole community. The expectation of such gain was moreover permanently sustained by the public engagements of influential men to the foreign princes in times of peace. It is therefore evident that the patriotism of other men would be stirred against this indirect menace of the independence of the confederacy, and the derangement of the moral and domestic condition of the entire nation connected with it; and among them we find Zwingle intent upon promoting by means of his pastoral office the health of the civil commonwealth. He brought with him, certainly, to this ministry a religious and theological training, which was at bottom evangelical, in the possession of which he was, however, able to tolerate for many years the prevailing church regulations and authorities. In order to understand this position we must not entertain the opinion that the ideas of Divine grace and justification current with us were strange and simply unknown to the Catholic Church, and that the acquisition of them necessarily implied separation from this church. Rather because Luther as well as Zwingle had in these convictions appropriated an original tradition of the church, they could work with it for

years in the old church, until at length definite conclusions therefrom led to a conflict and breach with the ecclesiastical authorities. Luther passed through this process more quickly and acutely than Zwingle. For while these conclusions against indulgences, penance, and the putting of church tradition on an equality with the holy Scripture, were to some extent extorted from Luther by the course of his public controversy, Zwingle was at all times inclined to them, but kept them to himself from practical motives, giving only slight intimations of his views, as the Church authorities did not interrupt him in his course of awakening and guiding the moral sense by the proclamation of Biblical truth. In this way he exercised his office as clergyman in Glaris (1506-16) from the 22nd until the 32nd year of his age, until his collision with the foreign party induced him to resign his office and accept a place as vicar at Einsiedeln, that great resort of pilgrims. After he had in Glaris been intent upon grounding still more deeply his theological tendency acquired from the exclusive authority of the Bible, his three years stay in Einsiedeln served to increase his estrangement from the prevailing tendency of the Romish Church, and to make it clearer to himself. For that which is permitted or practised in the perversion of Divine service in this Church is the most strikingly seen in a place, whither thousands are drawn by the reputation of a miraculous wooden image. The abuses concentrated in this place could not but strengthen the resolution of Zwingle to reform the Church. But it is also worth remarking here, that he satisfied himself in his preaching with merely drawing the people indirectly from the adoration of saints and images, asking, however, his superior, the Bishop of Constance, to allow the pure Word of God to be preached, and to abolish superstition. This had indeed no success; just as little effect had it, that the influential Bishop of Sitten, Cardinal Schinner, was unable to refute the arguments of Zwingle. But these experiences produced in him, even at that period, the clear conviction, that the removal of the Pope was necessary to the purification of ecclesiastical life.

Upon the whole, it is clear that when Zwingle was aroused in 1518 by the appearance of a seller of indulgences in Switzerland to combat this nuisance, this had for him far less significance than the similar conflict of Luther with Tetzel the year before, especially as the Bishop of Constance also counterworked the papal servant. What became for Luther the occasion of unintentional opposition to the previous form of the church, was for Zwingle only an episode in the connection of his well grounded and complete inward antagonism to the same power. While, therefore, Luther by his public theological controversy, and the swift progress which he made in opposition to Rome, set all the world in agitation, but yet before he had conceived an idea how his assault

should be directed towards the purification of the Church, Zwingle entered noiselessly upon his work in Zurich on the 1st of January, 1519, with a perfectly clear and complete view in the same direction, and a definite plan for elevating the general practice in public and private life, through the proclamation of Biblical Christianity. For to accomplish this end, and with definite reference to the above-named evils of the Swiss people, his political confederates had secured his appointment to the most prominent place in the Confederacy. To this task of narrow territorial extent he thus saw himself directed, while Luther's moving power was demanded by the general evils of the whole Church. But within this limited sphere of activity Zwingle found the double task of publisher of religious truth and moral-political instructor, while Luther felt himself called to the work of opening a path for religious truth, without taking in hand directly, in any definite form, moral amelioration, as that would indeed follow necessarily, as a more remote result, from religious education. This dissimilarity in their historical positions corresponded with the peculiar difference in the former experiences of the two men, and in their official vocations. For one must never forget that Luther, as professor, Zwingle, as clergyman and pastor, arrived at the perception of their similar, but with all the resemblances, different spheres of action.

To this difference the opposite views of the relation between Church and State, which the one, like the other, brought with him from his Catholic training, contributed an important element. Zwingle began to preach in Zurich on the principal books of the New Testament, exhibiting their essential harmony, and at the same time enforcing the leading importance of the person of the Redeemer, both for salvation and the practice of His moral rules of life. One will not be able to conceive highly enough of the attractive power of this preaching, when one considers the want of acquaintance of that generation with the Bible, and convinces oneself from the writings of Zwingle of his quiet, cautious, and moderate temperament, especially his moderation in criticising Church observances, which he did not fail to combat, but for the practical abolition of which he did not press with over hasty zeal. He allowed matters to ripen, not permitting himself to be seduced by the excitement of the contest for recognised truths, to impel his followers to destroy what existed, when he was not yet sure of being able to establish new regulations. His moderation in this respect was now supported by, and was indeed only possible to him, through his agreement with the magistrates, who were able to counterwork every arbitrary removal of ecclesiastical customs and arrangements. Thus it happened that the reform of the Divine service, through the abolition of mass in Zurich, took place later than in Wittenberg, where Luther disapproved of the

tumultuous change, but did not attempt to retrograde. But though the attractive power of Zwingle's preaching was now great, it is evident that part of the population of Zurich withdrew from it, and resolved to maintain the previous church order, that the monastic people especially withstood the attacks of the preacher, and that at length the Bishop of Constance could not look quietly at the movement for reform. It is a striking fact, however, that the dispute of the parties was not brought before any other authority than the magistracy of the city—the Council of Two Hundred. The adherents of the old system did not set in motion the authority of the Bishop against the innovators, but acknowledged the competency of the secular authorities in Zurich to decide upon these purely spiritual matters, which was anything but based upon the constitution of the Catholic Church, showing, however, the extensive power which the magistrates in Switzerland had acquired over the internal affairs of the Church, even in the fifteenth century. The Council in Zurich issued, therefore, in 1520, for the settling of the dispute which had broken out, an order to all the clergy to proclaim the pure word of God without human additions. They by no means, however, intended to render positive assistance to Zwingle, but had evidently chosen this form, because it was also used by those that belonged to the old party, and therefore really decided nothing. For in 1522 the Council resolved, in reference to a complaint of the monks that Zwingle, appealing to this mandate, had attacked their order and theology, that he must abstain from such a course. This resolution was, however, carried only by a small majority, and half a year later (1523) the majority of the Council was gained for Zwingle. Through two disputations in January and October of this year the Council was so convinced of the mental superiority of Zwingle and his companions over his Romish opponents, that it decided that Zwingle "should continue as heretofore to proclaim the holy and divine gospel, and the truly divine Scriptures, as he was well able, and that the rest of the clergy should act strictly according to the Word of God, and not rail at one another, for those who might seem perverse in this would be so dealt with as to be obliged to see and feel they had done wrong." With this injunction and threat of punishment the Council of Zurich had entered upon the path of the Reformation, and renounced the authorities of the Old Church and all regard for their opposition. On the contrary, regard for minority among the people and in the Council, which was inclined to Rome, could not, it seems, be got rid of in like manner. However, the path of State compulsion was entered in the name of the public good by this very course, which implied anything but respect for what is called freedom of conscience. After the mass had been abolished in 1525, and the Lord's Supper established in both kinds, the request of the

Romanists to exercise the old worship in one of the city churches was refused, and they were only permitted for the sake of peace to attend service at a neighbouring Catholic place. And when in 1528 the political tension between Zurich and the Catholic cantons had become strained, the violent measure of removing those who opposed the Reformation from the Great and Little Council was taken at Zwingle's direct instigation. These were the inevitable negative consequences of the views taken by the Lords of Zurich. The positive consequences of the Reformation by Zwingle were not, however, limited to the new regulations for Divine worship, but appeared particularly also in the moral mandates which the Council issued in 1526 and 1530, under a sense of its special duty to God. These mandates not only aimed at securing domestic purity, and restraining drunkenness and gambling, but they likewise enjoined upon every man attendance at church every Sunday, and prohibited the practice of Catholic rites. All this was done, of course, at the incitation and with the consent of the Reformer, who also exercised his controlling influence as assessor of the "Secret Council" upon the entire political life of the city, as, on the other hand, the magistrates, the Council of Two Hundred, appropriated the idea of Zwingle, that in this assembly was the authorised representation of the Christian Commonwealth of Zurich.

It was a noble practical success which Zwingle had achieved in the state of Zurich up to 1530, and one may measure it by this: that, while the issue of a similar moral mandate in 1489 had been followed by a general commotion, and led to the execution of its originator, the moral mandate of the Reformation met with no perceptible resistance in Zurich. But the guiding principle of the religious destiny of the State has a specific meaning, and is very similar to the prevailing view of the Catholic middle ages, contradicting the fundamental principle of Luther's, which has now for more than a hundred years become the rule in the course of history. The official theory of the great popes of the middle ages and of their followers, asserted that law, and especially the law of property, was a direct effect of sin, which had abolished the community of goods in Paradise, that the state was only a product of injustice and violence, and limited its sphere to the regulation of the material possessions of human life. This structure of subordinate value and doubtful excellence, could only acquire a right before God by subjecting itself to the directions of religion, through the authorities of the church, and by supporting the spiritual and moral aims of this community, which was led by the Pope as the representative of God. When, therefore, the destination of the State is declared to be essentially and expressly to carry out the aims of the Christian re-

ligion, as it was done by Zwingle, and not only to indirectly promote them, it lies altogether in the direction of this way of thinking, and appears as a successful effect of it upon public opinion. "Withdraw," says he, "religion from the magistracy, then it is a mere tyranny, no longer authority." Although in his consideration of the State and Church he starts from their difference; he finds, however, that each of these factors has the same object, to regulate the commonwealth, and to exclude every exaltation of the individual, and all selfishness of parties. "Whereby then," he asks, "is the life of the Christian Church distinguished from that of the State? Absolutely by nothing; for what the one demands, the other demands also." Certainly this view differs from the Papistical in this circumstance: that to the State, as such, the work is allowed, which it, according to the Romish view, would have to perform under the guidance of the Church. But Zwingle's view, into which the Swiss magistrates—not only those in Zurich, but also those in Berne and Schaffhausen—were without difficulty induced to enter, and the wide spread of which is yet to be mentioned, marked nothing else than the standpoint of the State, which had been instructed by the Church of the middle ages, and its penetration with the aim which the great popes had set before it. That this view decided against the Papacy in the sixteenth century is, in relation to the theory, merely accidental, namely, the result of the Papacy having exchanged its Christian task for the pursuit of selfish and material private ends. That this theocratic view of the State, the establishment of a theocracy over men by means of State compulsion, was not in itself hostile to Catholic Christianity is shown by the fact that an orthodox Catholic like the Dominican Savonarola, a generation before Zwingle, could urge forward the same question of the Christian-moral reform of the civil commonwealth by the State organs of the Republic of Florence. There is, it is well known, no more daring instance of State revolution than that claim of the Romish Church to depose magistrates and kings, and to release their subjects from the obedience which they owe them, when they on their part do not pursue the ends which are passed off as Christian in Rome. But Zwingle did not hesitate to draw clearly, and to express publicly, even this revolutionary inference before the Lords of Zurich, namely, that if the magistrates transgressed the rule of Christ, that is, did not act according to the standard of the Christian religion, they might be with God's help deposed by the unanimous resolution of the people, or even by a majority, when it could be successfully effected. One may excuse Zwingle by saying that he only asserted by this the law of the Republic, to the circle of which he belonged himself; but he also maintained the principle against tyrannical hereditary kings, as obedience to such was based upon a tacit stipulation of the subjects upon the good conduct of the

ruler. He concluded with the words, "Take care, you tyrants! if you become pious, men will bear you upon their hands; if you do not, but rage and strike, you will be trodden under their feet." Of course Zwingle did not allow to individuals a right of insurrection against magistrates who acted in an unchristian manner, but pointed out to the minority, in such a case, the Christian duty of patiently suffering an injustice; but indirectly he called upon an oppressed minority, which passively endured, to raise itself to a majority, in order to expel the tyrant successfully.

Now Luther represented a different opinion respecting the relation between Church and State, namely, that which in the beginning of the 14th century with the last action of the conflict between Papacy and Imperialism, was set up in favour of the latter by Dante Alighieri, and the Franciscian, William Occam, that the State is a Divine order of a different kind from the Church; that it is as immediately warranted by God, and therefore entitled to independence beside the Church. Luther had received his philosophical and theological training in the school of William Occam, the nominalist; he had therefore brought with him from it also the similar conviction that the State and Church have opposite spheres, and that their activities must not be mixed; that the State especially has no right to extort from its subjects definite worship of God. Certainly Luther seems, in the earliest expression of his views respecting this matter in the work addressed "To the nobility of the German nation on the amelioration of the Christian condition," to have taken a position which approached that of Zwingle. But while he called upon the executive powers, as members of the Christian communion, to compel the Church authorities, who resisted reform, to accept it, he did not say that, in the other case, the State is called to effect reform by direct legislation. Rather has Zwingle himself rightly stated the deviation of Luther from him in this point. He points it out as the fundamental principle of Luther and the Lutherans, that the kingdom of Christ is not external, which does not signify according to the use of language at that time, that Christianity does not appear in human life and common actions; but that Christianity does not find its proper manifestation by state legislation and legal means of constraint. As definitely as Zwingle acknowledged this, so definitely did Luther maintain in opposition to him the fundamental principle of individual freedom of conscience in religion. The fundamental principle, I say. For the disorganization of the ecclesiastical state of things, which had first originated in Electoral Saxony, in consequence of the agitation of Luther for reform, and the paralysis of the episcopal power, induced him, ten years after the beginning of the movement, to take the step of appealing to the State for assistance and of transferring to it the regulation of

affairs; but which did not arrive on the way of freedom of conscience at a common end. He took the step from necessity, foreseeing all the misfortunes and debasing complications of church affairs, which must result from the intermeddling of the State, and did not besides deny his ideal principle. But what Luther permitted from necessity, the princes made a virtue of; for even before he gained the assistance of the Elector of Saxony, some princes, the Margrave von Anbach and the Duke of Leignitz, had already deduced from the direct Christian obligation of the State the right to reform the Church, to appoint its ministers, and to rule it by means of ecclesiastical regulations; and others followed. One perceives from this what general acceptation Zwingle's religious and theocratic view of the State received at that time; indeed without this conviction on the part of the executive powers of the State, the Lutheran Church would not have existed at all. Here also theory followed facts, and it was the docile Melancthon, who first inserted the view which Zwingle maintained against Luther of the religious vocation of the State into the basis of the Lutheran Church which was mainly founded by him.

For Zwingle himself this theory became, however, the cause of his tragical death. He paid for the erroneous political conclusions which resulted from his principle with his life. Permit me to describe briefly this event, which was fearful and expiatory, as it showed the heroism of the man. Zwingle, directly for a mistake of others, indirectly for his own error, went to death; an error for which, however, he was not to blame himself, but which was a product of the course of history in which the preponderating mass of the people of that epoch had grown up; but which Zwingle had with such surpassing clearness and characteristic energy appropriated as none of his contemporaries had done, but had not, however, avoided inferences, which involved him in injustice. The years 1526-29 embrace the height of Zwingle's successes. In them his influence was extended over a large area, which made his position similar to Luther's, and led him into public competition with the latter. But the political manner in which he took up from the beginning his Christian work of reformation led him into the path of external politics, and to undertake measures directed to the violent securing and extension of his work. For though he was both in his person and in his office, afterwards as before, subject to the council of Zurich, he was in reality the leader of the whole state of Zurich. His intellectual superiority which had led the city upon the path of Christian theoracy could not be dispensed with for prosecuting it, and as he felt himself capable of linking together the unity of the gospel of Christ and the legislative power of the state, he assumed, as member of the Secret Council, a position which was similar to, or surpassed, that of Savonarola in Florence,

a position after which the prophets of the Old Testament had striven in vain. But as events in Zurich could not help imperiling the relation of the city to some of the confederate cantons, and exercising an attractive influence upon others, the year 1526 brought in this respect a double crisis. The four states lying around the lake of Lucerne, which were the seat of decided catholic sentiments, gave to the state of Zurich, at one time, notice of quitting the union, which had hitherto existed; on the other side a theological discussion held at Baden produced such an impression in favour of the Reformation, that it, in a little time, penetrated into several cantons, especially, in 1528, into Berne, the most powerful state of the confederacy. With these confederates Zurich formed by degrees after 1527 a new league, the Burgrecht. As, however, since Zwingle's controversy with Luther respecting the Lord's Supper, a number of Swabian and Alsatian imperial cities had placed themselves on Zwingle's side, it shows the extent of the new political combination that not only Swiss cities belonged to it, but first Constance, then Strasburg entered, yea, even the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, was received into it, at least by Zurich and Basle. Thus there was formed for reformed Zurich between 1527 and 1530 a political conjunction of ever increasing extension and importance, which Zwingle was resolved to make use of in an active way for the securing and propagation of his reform. At first it was, however, the five ancient cantons which, as obstinate representatives of the old religion and adherents of the system of pensions, provoked the war. The domestic condition of those forest cantons was radically unlike that of the city cantons, and through this the condition of their spiritual interests. The unproductiveness of the soil in the high mountainous district had caused the system of pensions to flourish in the forest cantons as a legitimate branch of trade; the isolation of the rough mountain people in their scattered dwellings had not awakened in them any necessity for mental or religious innovations. In both respects there existed in these cantons conscious opposition to reformed Zurich, which manifested itself from the beginning in insulting words and in violent suppression of every agitation for reform, and even in 1524 led to a special combination of the five places to resist every religious innovation in the Confederacy. Though the failure of this undertaking aggravated the feeling, the distance between them, and the right of each party to act independently, though in a different direction, in its own domain would have prevented every violent collision, had not their mutual interests in common territories led them into conflict. There were districts, especially Aargan and Thurgan, which were subject to the Confederacy, and governed from year to year by alternate stadtholders of the particular cantons. And it may be conceived

what this alternation signified in connection with the religious difference which had made its appearance! As the Catholic party would not allow these subjects to decide independently, by a majority, on the religious dispute, and as the forest cantons drew, in 1529, the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria into their alliance, war was inevitable. Zwingle had no doubts respecting the justice of the war, not merely on account of the unpatriotic conduct of the adversaries in relation to the pension system, but more still because, by tolerating their opposition to reform, one would with them be liable to Divine punishment. This was the theocratic inference deduced from religious war, undertaken not as right, but as duty, in which Zwingle felt himself confirmed by an indiscreet use of Old Testament history. But he regarded the war as at that time (1529) the more commanded, because the attitude of the Emperor towards the German Protestants was then a very menacing one. There was, certainly, no bloodthirstiness in Zwingle; he and his confederates thought to gain a bloodless victory by the strategy of surprise. They relied further upon the support of Berne, and imagined to attain their end by their imposing superiority. Berne indeed refused support, but the marching up of the army of Zurich induced the five places, which were not prepared for war, to accept a peaceful mediation, which led, on the 24th June, 1529, to the so-called first public peace. Certainly this was not concluded on the condition intended by Zwingle, that the forest cantons should allow reformed preaching in their district; the contrary was rather expressly granted to them, as no one should be compelled to believe; only in the common territories the congregations should be allowed by majority to decide for or against mass, and the separate alliance of the forest cantons with Austria had to be abolished. This result, however gratifying it might be, was nevertheless a powerful counterpoise to the theocratic policy of Zwingle, and it must be regarded as its first defeat, since the position of reformed Berne, however much support it promised to Zurich, did not permit the hope that it would take upon itself the aggressive consequences of his views. The desired extension of the Reformation was not then a strengthening in the direction which Zwingle's chief interest pointed out. The reform party in the Confederacy was united in regard to religious matters and the necessity of a purified Divine service within the State, but divided in regard to the right of compulsion against other independent members of the existing league. All the followers of Zwingle were not convinced of the theocratic consistency of religious war. And as after the conclusion of peace Zurich prosecuted, contrary to the terms of it, the intention of helping individuals in the forest cantons, favourable to the Reformation, to that freedom of their confession which it refused to the

Catholics in its own domain, the opposition of Berne to it was a weighty cause of the failure of that endeavour. But there was added a fresh proof of the violence of Zurich. Zurich had with Glaris, Lucerne, and Switz, the advowson of the territory of the Abbot of St. Gallen, a prince of the German empire. When, in 1529, a new Abbot was chosen, Zurich resisted his recognition, unless he would prove from Holy Scripture the right of his monastic order. And as he explicitly refused compliance, Zurich, with the assent of Glaris, but in spite of the warnings of Berne and other confederates, occupied the abbey lands, and declared the spiritual government abolished, even in an ecclesiastical respect. In all this Zwingle was doubtless the impelling power; and in this period he not only entered into a political union with Philip of Hesse, but projected even alliances with Venice and France for the defence of the Reformation against the Emperor. One has to draw attention to the wide deviation of these plans from the original policy of Zwingle to keep the Swiss from all external complications, and further to make prominent the contradiction and injustice of Zwingle's regarding an alliance with France allowable, while he condemned the union of his opponents with Austria. Looking at it in a purely political light, it was a mistake to wish to entrust the cause of the Reformation to France; and that which made the situation critical was, that Zwingle devised plans for the reform of the confederacy more extensive than his neighbouring allies in Switzerland, they clearly intimating that they disapproved of any warlike and revolutionary policy for the sake of religion. And yet the relation between Zurich and the forest cantons was, notwithstanding the public peace, so critical, that in 1531 a renewed outbreak of the war was regarded as inevitable, and Zwingle had no aversion to undertake it. But now, while his allies dissuaded him from it, and refused all support, a proposal originating in Berne was made, to compel the five places to submission by a blockade, in a year when universal scarcity of food prevailed. It was a hypocritical aversion to bloodshed which could ordain the fate of hunger for a population which was dependent upon the abundant conveyance of all the immediate necessaries of life from without. Zwingle was innocent in this matter; he laboured without effect to thwart this measure, which after many negotiations was resolved upon—in May, 1531—by the Swiss confederates of the *Burgrecht*. The unrighteousness of the measure revenged itself. For, first, it excited the indignation of the population of the reformed cantons, not less than that of the cantons which were directly threatened by it; it gave to the repressed adversaries in Zurich itself a plausible pretext for rising; the impression of the affair confused and paralysed the commonwealth of Zurich, while the five places were excited by means of it to a more determined exertion of their power.

Under these circumstances Zwingle perceived that his work was frustrated, and that the reins had fallen from his hands. But the council refused to comply with the request for dismissal, which he presented in July; and though full of forebodings of the disastrous issue, he allowed himself to be prevailed upon to continue, though without exercising further influence on politics, faithfully in his clerical office. His forebodings were confirmed even with respect to his own fate. When the forest cantons, with quick resolution, broke through the blockade, and marched with armed hands into the domains of Zurich, it was with inconceivable blindness, unprepared for defence. A crowd of 1,200 men, rapidly gathered together, which the Zurichers sent against them, was defeated at Kappel, on the 11th October, by superior forces. Among the numerous slain was Zwingle, who as preacher, according to custom, marched out beside the banner, certain that he would not return home. He is to be congratulated that the humiliation was spared him to which the treaty of peace doomed Zurich, and that he was not required to experience the restrictions to which, in consequence of it, the Reformation in Switzerland had to submit. And what he did wrong, in good faith in the truth of his theocratic idea, he atoned for by his death.

Art. VIII.—GLIMPSES OF OLD LONDON.

WILLIAM FITZ-STEPHEN was a monk of Canterbury, "born of worshipful parents in the City of London," which place "he loved above all other." He lived in the reigns of Stephen and Henry II., and wrote his account of his native city in the reign of the latter prince. The sketch he gives of its appearance and customs in the twelfth century is the earliest detailed account of the City that we possess; and the evident pride with which the writer enumerates its glories and perfections gives to his delineation a peculiar charm and interest. He pronounces it emphatically at the very outset as "happy in its healthy air, in its Christian worship, in the strength of its fortifications, in its situation, in the honour of its citizens, and the chastity of its matrons. How joyous also," he exclaims, "is it in its recreations, and how it teems with noble men!" The air, he tells us, is mild, but not relaxing; of its clearness he says nothing. He mentions the church of St. Paul's as the only fitting rival for metropolitan honours to that of Canterbury, and states that there are in London and the suburbs thirteen greater conventual churches, besides one hundred and twenty-six lesser parish edifices. On the east there is the "Palace (Palatine) Tower,"—our present Tower of London—and on the west two other

strong forts. The City is girt with a wall high and great, with seven gates, and with turrets at intervals on the north side; on the south there have also been walls and towers, but the Thames—the "fishy Thames," as he calls it—has broken down and washed them away. Higher up, westward, on the banks of the river is the Royal Palace. "an incomparable building," with a wall before it, and bulwarks, two miles from the City, and joined to it by a populous suburb. Everywhere beyond the houses stretch continuously the gardens of the citizens of the suburbs, planted with trees spacious and fair. On the north side of the City are pasture grounds, and pleasant open meadows, crossed by streams of water, on which the mill-wheels turn with a merry murmur. Close by is a vast forest, with woody-glades, where wild-beasts lurk, bucks and does, boars, and wild bulls. Rich and fruitful, too, are the City corn-fields. There are also round the northern suburbs of London choice wells of sweet water, wholesome and clear, with their streams bubbling over the glittering pebbles; of these, Holy Well, Clerken-Well, and St. Clement's Well are of the most note, and most in fashion, being more frequented by the scholars and the youth of the City when they take the air abroad in summer evenings.

Nothing in Fitz-Stephen's sketch is more curious than his account of the London schools. The three principal churches of London—St. Paul's, the Holy Trinity, and St. Martin's—have each their celebrated school, by privilege and ancient dignity. There are also, however, other schools, on grace and sufferance, generally by countenance of some individual, or of some teacher known and famed for learning. On feast-days the masters and their scholars assemble at the festival churches. There the scholars hold arguments, according to the formal rules of logic and rhetoric. The boys of the different schools wrangle together in verses, or canvass the principles of grammar, or the rules of the preterite and future tenses. Some, again, in epigrams, rhymes, and verses, with a railing license, freely quip their companions, and only suppressing their names, pour out upon them scurrilous jests, sparing in their dialectic wit neither the faults of their associates nor perchance of their superiors. The audience meanwhile are convulsed with laughter. Another still more extraordinary scholastic usage is mentioned by Fitz-Stephen in speaking of the sports of the City. "Moreover, to begin with the boys' schools, seeing we were all once children, yearly at Shrovetide the boys of every school bring fighting-cocks to their masters, and all the forenoon is spent at school in seeing these cocks fight together." Such was the "schoolmaster at home" in the twelfth century.

Hospitality was rendered easy to the citizens by a public cook-shop on the banks of the river, among the wines for sale in the ships and in the wine-cellars. There, "every day ye may call for any

dish,—of meat, roast, fried, or sodden; fish, both small and great, grosser food for the poorer sort, and more dainty for the rich, venison and fowl. If friends come on a sudden, wearied with travel, to a citizen's house, and they are loth to wait till fresh food is bought and cooked, the servants can give them water to wash, and bread, and in the meantime run to the water-side, where all things that can be desired are at hand. Soldiers and strangers also, entering or leaving the City at any time of day or night, can be supplied with food to any number at the same place."

The names of several of our present streets bear testimony to the truth of Fitz-Stephen's remark, that the several craftsmen, sellers of wares and workmen were in his time "distinguished every morning by themselves in their localities as well as occupations." The great market for horses, cattle, and rural implements, was Smithfield,—"Smethefelde,"—situated in the immediate suburb of one of the gates; a "*smooth field* both in name and fact." It seems to have combined the race-course with the market, the courtiers with the citizens. Every Friday, unless some greater festival come in the way, there is a famous show of gallant horses for sale. Many come out of the City to buy or look on—earls, barons, knights, citizens. It is a pleasant sight there to behold the nags, in good condition, sleek and shining, gently walking on either side up and down together by turns. The squires-at-arms look to those strong-limbed and of harder paces; young unfledged nobles go by grace and outward bearing. Then comes the trial. The buyers put them through their different paces, first the slow, then the faster. If there is to be a race among them, the people give a shout, and the common hacks are ordered to go aside. They that ride are boys; three together, and sometimes two, make matches among themselves. The learned in horse-flesh take care that the unruly horses shall be properly curbed, and strict charge is given that one shall not anticipate the other in the start. The horses themselves are all trembling with impatience, and cannot be kept in their places. The signal given, they stretch out their limbs, burst into running, and sweep forward with eager speed. The riders, fired with the love of praise and hope of victory, urge them on with spur and with whip and with shouts. You would think everything was in motion, and Heraclitus, and not Zeno, in the right. Such was the "Derby" in the days of Henry Plantagenet. We have given the race very nearly in the narrator's own words, and are afraid that we must plead guilty to a considerable taste for "the turf" on the part of the worthy monk of Canterbury. In another part of Smithfield stand the country people with their field-produce—cattle, pigs, and sheep. Here are also cart, plough, and chariot horses, and mares with their colts. To London, continues our author, come merchant-ships from

every country under heaven. From Norway and Russia come furs and sables; from France, wine.

But the Londoners are not absorbed in commerce. They give up plenty of time to amusements, and they have them in no small variety. It is Fitz-Stephen's own opinion that it is not expedient that a city should be only utilitarian and serious, but that it should also be agreeable and joyous. To begin with, there are the Miracle-Plays, and the Plays of the Passions of the Holy Martyrs. We have spoken already of the cock-fight, which appears to have been confined to the school-boys and their learned instructors. After dinner, all the youth of the City go to play at ball in the fields. The scholars of every study have their own balls, and the practisers of all the trades have every one their ball in their hands. The elders, fathers, and wealthy citizens come on horseback to see these youngsters contending at their sport. Every Sunday in Lent, after dinner, a company of young men ride out into the fields, and every one of them is taught to run the rounds with his horse. The citizens' sons sally out through the gates in troops, furnished with lances and shields, and the younger sort with headless pikes, and a sham battle takes place. There resort to this exercise many courtiers, whom the king lodges in the neighbourhood, and young striplings out of the families of barons and great persons, to train and skirmish. The intercourse between all classes of the community thus implied is confirmed by Fitz-Stephen elsewhere. Almost all bishops, abbots, and noblemen of England, he says, are sort of citizens and freemen of London. There they have fair dwellings, and thither they often resort, and lay out a great deal of money; and are called into the City for consultations and solemn meetings, either by the king or their metropolitan, or drawn by their own business.

To continue with our author's account of "merry London." In the Easter holidays they counterfeit a sea-fight. All the summer, on holidays, the youths are exercised in leaping, shooting with the bow, wrestling, casting of stones, and throwing of javelins beyond a mark, and duels with shields. As for the maidens, they have their exercise of dancing and tripping till moonlight. The hearts of our Puritan forefathers would have been rejoiced to perceive that there is here no mention of "mixed dancing." In winter-time, on holidays, before dinner there is hunting and baiting of boars, bulls, and bears, or sliding and skating on the ice over the marsh now known as Moorfields. Our monk seems to be rather an enthusiast for the latter sport, and describes it minutely. Fetching a run, and setting their feet at a distance, and placing their bodies sideways, they slide a great way. Some who are better practised to the ice bind bones to their shoes, and hold stakes in their hands headed with sharp iron, which sometimes they strike

against the ice, and fly along like a bird in the air or a dart from a military engine. And our narrator proceeds to describe with unfeigned glee the concussion of two skaters, and the consequent downfall and damage to skin and limb. Most of the citizens, he tells us, delight in hawking and hunting in the woods with dogs. They have authority to hunt in Middlesex, Hertfortshire, all the Chilterns, and in Kent as far as Gray-Water.

The only plagues of London, he declares, are the immoderate drinking of fools, and the frequent fires. Taking the former statement into account, it is singular at first sight that we do not find the subject of drunkenness once alluded to in all the civic regulations and penal legislation of the succeeding century. Perhaps "it was probably not deemed an offence by the authorities if unattended by violence. The best ale, too, which was no better than *sweet-wort*, was probably so thin that it might be drunk 'in pitchers pottle deep,' without disturbing the equilibrium of the drinker. Fermented liquors were drunk, too, in these days as new as possible; and there can be little doubt that the ale was used the moment it was made. This, combined with its possible thinness and its lusciousness, would additionally tend to prevent it from producing inebriety." On the other hand, the smallest ale measure noticed in the City regulations is a quart; and there was an extensive consumption of wine, which at one period was little more than twice as dear as ale, but, it must be also remembered, was no better probably, if as good, as *vin ordinaire*.

In the list of chief officers of the City, we find under the year 1285 the following significant entry: "Gregory de Rokesley, mayor until Friday the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, on which day the City government (*civitas*) was taken into the hands of the king." It appears that the king's great officers of State came to the Tower of London, and summoned Sir Gregory Rokesley to appear before them. He refused to do so in any but his private capacity, appealing to the privileges of the City; and for this spirited conduct he was deprived of his office and thrown into prison, and the liberties of the City were confiscated for eleven years, though the offices under that of "Mayor" still nominally continued. But in general the citizens seem to have held their own on questions of public right against the Crown and the great nobles, not only sturdily, but with success; and arbitrary interferences from without, such as the above, become fewer and fewer.

Within the walls, however, a system of interference with the natural rights of individuals had grown up, which would seem, in our eyes, wholly incompatible with any real liberty.

That the so-called *free* citizen of London, despite the entensive privileges in reference to trade which he enjoyed, was in possession of more than the faintest shadow of liberty can hardly be alleged,

if we only call to mind the enactments and ordinances, arbitrary, illiberal, and oppressive, to which he was obliged to submit: laws, for example, which compelled each citizen, whether he would or no, to be bail or surety for a neighbour's good behaviour, over whom, perhaps, it was impossible for him to exercise the slightest control; laws which forbade him to make his market for the day until the purveyors for the king and the "great lords of the land" had stripped the stalls of all that was choicest and best; laws which forbade him to pass the City walls, for the purpose even of meeting his own purchased goods; laws which bound him to deal with certain persons or communities only, or within the precincts only of certain localities; laws which dictated, under severe penalties, what sums, and no more, he was to pay to his servants and artisans; laws which drove his dog out of the streets, while they permitted 'genteel dogs' to roam at large: nay, even more than this, laws which subjected him to domiciliary visits from the City officials on various pleas and pretexts; which compelled him to carry on a trade under heavy penalties, irrespective of the question whether or not it was at his loss; and which occasionally went so far as to lay down rules at what hours he was to walk in the streets, and, incidentally, what he was to eat and what to drink. Viewed individually, laws and ordinances such as these may seem, perhaps, of but trifling moment; but 'trifles make life,' the poet says, and to have lived fettered by numbers of restrictions like these must have rendered life irksome in the extreme to a sensitive man, and a burden hard to be borne.

Every dark picture, however, has its reverse; and in the legislation even of these gloomy days there are one or two meritorious features to be traced. The labourer, no doubt, so far as disposing of his labour at his own time and option was concerned, was too often treated little better than a slave; but on the other hand, the price of bread taken into consideration, the wages of his labour appear—at times at least—to have been regulated on a very fair and liberal scale. The determination, too, steadily evinced by the civic authorities, that every trader should really sell what he professed to sell, and that the poor, whatever their other grievances, should be protected in their dealings against the artifices of adulteration, deficient measures, and short weight, is another feature that commands our approval. Greatly deserving, too, of commendation is the pride that was evidently felt by the Londoners of these times in the purity of the waters of their much-loved Thames, and the carefulness with which the civic authorities, in conjunction with the Court, took every possible precaution to preserve its banks from encroachment and its stream from pollution. The fondness, too, of the citizens of London in former times for conduits and public fountains, though based, perhaps, upon absolute necessity

to some extent, is a feature that we miss in their representatives at the present day. A few other points also for commendation, even in this enlightened century, may possibly be found in their voluminous code of short-sighted and mistaken legislation; but if such there be, few they assuredly are, and very far between.

It is not from Fitz-Stephen's account that we can gather any idea of how the old Londoners were lodged, clothed, and disciplined. This he evidently passed over as trivial and too familiar to the every-day experience of his readers to merit special notice. Fortunately the comparatively dull municipal records supply in some measure this want. In the reign of Stephen the great majority of the London houses were wholly built of wood, and thatched with straw, reeds, or stubble. The reader will understand, therefore, the full significance of the plague of frequent fires mentioned by Fitz-Stephen. A great conflagration in Stephen's reign, which began at London Bridge, destroyed St. Paul's Cathedral, and burnt all the houses as far as St. Clement's Dane's. After this the wealthier citizens rebuilt their houses with partition-walls of freestone, and covered the roofs with thick tiles. In most instances, however, the partitions between the houses still probably continued to be made of wood until the "assize of Fitz-Alwin" in the year 1189, and the roofs to be constructed of thatch to even a later period. This "code of ordinances" of Fitz-Alwin, framed for the express purpose of preventing great fires for the future, is still preserved, and from it we gather many curious particulars as to London houses of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; for it continued in force down to the reign of Richard II. The houses, presenting a line of picturesque gables towards the street, in the time of Fitz-Alwin's assize consisted of but one story over the ground-floor. But by the early part of the fourteenth century we find houses mentioned of two or three stories, each of which, together with the cellar beneath, sometimes were the freehold of different individuals, giving rise to much dispute as to the matter of repairs. The upper story in such houses as these last was probably entered by stairs on the outside. "Stalls," though not mentioned in the assize, had become common in the latter part of the next century. They were projections from the gable facing the street, and were used to expose various articles for sale. They were to be no more than two and a half feet in depth, movable and flexible, and as the alderman of the ward might think fit, considering the width of the street. The pentices or penthouses were stalls of a larger size. Windows are mentioned in the assize; but these were only apertures open to the air, and probably closed with shutters at night. Glass was then a luxury of the very wealthy; but by the time of Edward III. it had come into general use sufficiently to constitute the glaziers into an established mystery. The same was the case

with chimneys. In Fitz-Alwin's time the smoke found its way, as it best might, out of the doors and windows of the middle and lower orders; but by the year 1300 chimneys were in pretty common use. Charcoal is frequently mentioned; sea coal was commonly used as early at least as the reign of Edward II. Bricks are not mentioned, but tiles were probably used in their stead. Every householder was bound to pave the footway before his own residence, and was to do so evenly with his neighbour's paving. The middle of the street was paved by a pavage rate. To prevent the roads from being cut up, the wheels of the carts were not allowed to be cased with iron; and in the time of Edward I. and Edward II. "no cart was allowed to stand anywhere in the city with fire-wood, timber, or charcoal on sale except at Cornhill." With due considerateness also for the safety of the public, it was provided that all carts, when unloaded, were to be driven no faster through the city than when laden. The "scavengers" had allotted to them the duty of seeing that all nuisances were removed, and the pavements kept in proper repair. "In some parts of the City large open spaces were paved for the purpose of holding the markets." The stalls in some of these markets were used by the fishmongers on fish days and the butchers on flesh days. The City was supplied with water by the city conduit at the east end of Cheapside, and from the Thames, from which it was conveyed *in* carts at a fixed rate.

Besides the private houses, there were those belonging to the "Hostelers" and "Herbergeours," the distinction between whom Mr. Riley conjectures to be, that the former lodged and fed not only their guests but their horses also. Keepers of wine-taverns and ale-taverns, victuallers (sellers of provisions), and, as we have seen, the public cooks, were not allowed to lodge guests, though the last named seem to have frequently violated the prohibition. The privilege of keeping these places was generally confined to freemen; but in the reign of Edward III. non-freemen are mentioned under the title of common hostelers. In our eyes it may seem a great hardship that the hostelers were made responsible for the conduct of their guests if they lodged with them more than a day and night; but as it was a remnant of the old Saxon frankpledge which was once general throughout the country, it is most probable that the course of time had introduced some common-sense understanding on the subject, which modified essentially the amount of *surveillance* which it would otherwise seem to entail. The hostelers were at one time empowered to take away any arms which their guests brought with them, and to keep them till their departure, though afterwards, it would seem, they were only required to warn their guests against carrying arms at night, and against being out of doors at a late hour. The charge for a night's

lodging in the time of Henry IV. seems to have been a penny per night. Just as victuallers and cooks were prohibited from letting lodgings, so hostelers were forbidden to sell drink and victuals to any but their guests. Nor were they allowed to make ale or bread themselves. For the latter they were enjoined to resort to the baker, and for the former to the "ale-wives." The ale-taverns were distinct from the wine-taverns, and were generally, if not always, brew-houses as well; this double business of making and selling the ale being almost entirely in the hands of females, and held in low estimation. So late as the close of the fifteenth century "Fleet-street was tenanted almost wholly by 'brewer-esses' ('braceresses') or ale-wives, and makers of felt caps." Every possible precaution was taken to insure that the public should not pay too high a price for inferior ale. As soon as the ale was brewed, it was the duty of the breweress to send for the ale-connor of the ward, who tasted the beverage and fixed the maximum price. It is probable that the ale-wives merited the low estimation in which they were held; for we trace their delinquencies on this point by a string of penalties —fine, imprisonment, and the pillory. All the ale-measures had to be authorised by the seal of the alderman of the ward: they were all probably of wood. The customers out of doors sent their vessel to the brewery, "and, by public enactment, there it was to stand the rest of the day and through the night, for the purpose of giving the ale time to work"— another proof of its newness when consumed. The next morning, on being taken away by the customer, the vessel was to be "full of good and clear ale." No breweress, or other retailer of ale, was to keep her doors open after curfew, under heavy penalties. Hucksters, and cooks, and pie-bakers, were also sometimes allowed to retail ale to their customers in small quantities. There is another very significant regulation: "Brewers, as well as hostelers, were ordered to retail their ale by full and lawful measure, and not to sell it by the 'hanap' or metal drinking-mug of the establishment." The brewers were not allowed to abandon or lessen the amount of their brewing in consequence of any particular ordinance. "If any man or woman shall decline to brew, or shall brew in less quantity than he or she used to brew, in consequence of this ordinance, let such person be held to be *a withdrawer of victuals from the City;* and for such disobedience and malice let him or her incur the penalty of imprisonment, according to the will of the mayor for the time being; and, nevertheless, let the said person forswear for ever the said trade within the liberties of the City."

The wine-taverners were looked after closely in a similar manner. They also had to close at curfew. Unsound wine was not allowed

to be mixed with good; and after the arrival of new wine at a tavern, none of it was to be sold before the old was disposed of. Mr. Riley infers from this that new wine was then preferred to old; but the regulation in question is capable of another interpretation, less injurious to the good taste of the customers, and more so to the good faith of the taverner. There is no mention of wine *bottles* or flasks. The wine is to be sold in sealed measures only (as with ale), and not by the *cruskyn*—the name of the small earthenware wine-cup which, as Mr. Riley notes, still survives in the "cruskeen-lawn," from which the Irish peasant quaffs his *potteen*. Sweet wines were not allowed to be sold by the same persons as other wines, nor to be kept in the same cellar. No wine was to be sold till it had been duly gauged; and in the reign of Edward III. four vintners were chosen yearly to assess the fines. Each wine-tavern had its pole, limited in length to seven feet, so as not to interfere with the horsemen on the roadway, "projecting from the gable of the house, and supporting a sign or *a bunch of leaves* at the end." This gave rise to the old proverb, "Good wine needs no bush,"—and to the "Bush" taverns and inns which we still meet with.

The first impulse of the mob in riotous times is notoriously hostile to the bakers, and popular prejudice assigns to that trade a very low position in the scale of morality. It is not to be supposed, then, that they escaped the notice of the Draconic legislators of old London. Bread was made partly within the walls (and sometimes this was the only lawful bread for citizens), or at other localities,—such as Stratford in Essex; Bremble, near Stratford,—"the present Bromley, no doubt, which still has its corn-mills,"—Stephenhithe (now Stepney), and St. Albans,—from which places it was brought on horses or in carts. This latter "strange" bread, as it was called, seems to have been prohibited or stigmatised as "spurious"—less from any desire to secure a monopoly to the bakers of the City than from the more praiseworthy reason, as expressly alleged in the case of Southwark, that "the bakers of Southwark are not amenable to the justice of the City," which undertook the care of its citizen's digestion. By public enactment, in the time of Edward I. loaves were to be made at two and four to the penny. In "a pen-and-ink sketch in the *Assisa Panis*, in the Record-room at Guildhall (date about 1320), a baker is represented as being drawn on a hurdle with a deficient loaf, of a circular form, hanging from his neck." It was formerly forbidden that any loaves should be sold at a higher price than the above; but higher-priced loaves, three or five farthings a-piece, were nevertheless "smuggled into the market, 'under the arms' or else 'beneath' a towel." Every loaf had to be impressed with a certain seal, which was inspected from time to time by the alderman of the

ward, who kept a counterpart of the impress. The servants of the rich had a right to be present when the baker kneaded his dough; and supervision seems to have been needful, for we find that knavish bakers were accustomed to make bread of fine quality on the outside, and coarse within. One baker even is mentioned as being pilloried for putting a piece of iron in his bread to increase the weight. By a statute of Edward I., no bread was to be sold at the place where it was baked, or in any secret place, but in "the king's markets." The markets were open for the sale of bread as well as meat on Sundays. A considerable sale of bread, however, took place through female retail dealers, "regratresses," or, as they were afterwards called, "hucksters," who carried it from door to door, and made their legitimate profit on the thirteen batches for twelve which they were privileged to receive, besides an illegal *honorarium* of sixpence every Monday morning from the baker with whom they dealt. The country bakers of Stratford, we find, undersold their London brethren by giving two ounces more in the pennyworth of bread. The baker's bread, like the breweress's ale, was subject to inspection, and early in the reign of Edward III. we find that "some bakers in the City, for the purpose of avoiding this assay, follow their business stealthily, and skulk like foxes, so as not to be found by the officers of the City, in case their loaves should be found deficient." There were wholesale markets for the sale of corn, malt, and salt, at Billingsgate and Queen Hithe. Stratford was the great repository for corn and flour; while the City mills appear to have been possessed by the lords of certain sites or extensive jurisdictions within the City. Each mill was worked, it would seem, by one horse, and the miller paid partly in meal, partly in money. The City millers appear to have fully justified the character for gross peculation given them by mediæval satirists.

[Abridged and otherwise adapted from an article in the *National Review.*]

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Witch of Endor; being an attempt to prove that Samuel did Reappear; With a Discourse on Elephas and his Nocturnal Visitant; or, Knowledge Limited by Limited Capacity. By JABEZ COLE. Price: Cloth neat, 1s. 6d.; Gilt, 2s.; London: G. Lamb.

THIS singularly clever volume is divided into five sections, severally named "The Supernatural," "The Witch," "The Ghost," "A Future Life," and "Knowledge Limited by Limited Capacity." Upon these themes the author discourses with characteristic freedom and power, lavishing within the narrow limits of one hundred-and-fifty pages an amount of intellectual wealth, sufficient, if beaten out in orthodox fashion, to furnish and make the fortune of half-a-dozen goodly sized volumes. His interpretation of the "Witch" and "Ghost" story is

plain and straightforward, having nothing in it far-fetched or dubious, and is likely to satisfy people of sober, well-balanced minds. In defiance of the shallow quibblings of Materialistic Philosophy, he believes the Witch to have been a Witch, and the Ghost a Ghost—finding less difficulty in that old-fashioned view than in any of the plausable but hollow theories which attempt a compromise between Faith and Unbelief. The story itself he very properly regards as subordinate to the truths which it suggests, and of which it is the historical embodiment. The Supernatural, the Spiritual, the Eternal, enveloped in the story of Endor's Witch, and in that of Elephas's "Nocturnal Visitor," he strips of weird investiture, and exhibits in their own simple grandeur. In expounding and defending these great verities, he gives no quarter to unbelief; he vigorously denounces, and pours unmitigated scorn upon Darwinism, Comptism, scientific materialism, and the numerous other isms by which God is ignored and man degraded. We counsel our readers to buy this book. Though somewhat faulty in method and in its *Carlylee* mode of compounding words and constructing sentences, it is packed with thought well-fitted to rouse the intellect, and to quicken the better impulses and aspirations of the heart.

Spiritualism in the Light of God's Word. Three Lectures by the Rev. John Kelly. London: S. W. Partridge and Co.

A sound, sober, and ably-conducted argument against the claims and tendencies of modern Spiritualism, showing by incontrovertible Scripture proof that while Spiritualism is "a delusion, a mockery, and a snare" to its dupes, it is likewise a barefaced affront to the majesty of Heaven.

The Gospel according to St. Mark: translated from the Original Languages. As Presented in 1611 by King James's Revisers, and as Revised in 1873 by R. Young, LL.D. In Parallel Columns. Edinburgh: G. A. Young and Co.

We directed attention to the claims of this book in our August number. What was then said of the section on Matthew applies to the present section on Mark. The learned author has hit upon an excellent plan for developing the rich and manifold meaning of Scripture, and he works it well.

The Confessional Unmasked; or, the teachings of Scripture Misrepresented. By the Rev. C. N. Gray, Vicar of Helmsley, Yorkshire. By W. T. Lumley. Kirby Moorside: W. T. Lumley.

The barefaced attempts, now so common, to introduce the Popish Confessional into the Church of England are sufficient to arouse the indignation of all sound-hearted Protestants. We sympathize with Mr. Lumley in the mingled anger and contempt with which he regards the Romish teachings and practises of his neighbour, the Rev. C. N. Gray, and wish him *all* success in his efforts to counter-work them. The present tract gives a faithful exposure of Mr. Gray's Popish proclivities, and of his incompetency as an expositor of God's word.

Soul-Saving Preaching; an essay. By George Warner. Price threepence. London: George Lamb.

In substance, and method, and spirit, this is an admirable essay. We have read it ourselves with much satisfaction, and confidently recommend it to the favourable regards of our friends. It deserves, and we hope will obtain, a wide circulation. Were some of our well-to-do brethren to invest a little of their surplus money in placing a copy of this essay in the hands of all our young preachers, travelling and local, they would, we are confident, render a good service to the cause of "Soul-Saving."